MEMOIR

OF

SAMUEL JOHN MILLS.

BY

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The Committee have availed themselves of so much of the assistance of the Rev. Dr. SPRING as his arduous and pressing labors would allow him to bestow. They have been studiously anxious to preserve entire the excellent original. They trust that, with the additions which have been made with much care, the work will gratify the public demand, and in its present convenient form will obtain a free circulation among those who are best able to appreciate its value, and among the young, whom it is peculiarly adapted to lead to right habits of feeling and action.

In behalf of the Committee on Foreign Missions.

E. C. BRIDGMAN.
C. W. ALLEN.

Theol. Sem. Andover, Sept. 22, 1829.

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MEMOIR OF REV. SAMUEL J. MILLS.

CHAPTER I.

His Youth and Conversion.

Next to the devotions of the closet, and the perusal of the Holy Scriptures, there are few means of advancement in the divine life better adapted to their end, than a familiar acquaintance with the lives of godly men. If Religion appears lovely when portrayed merely in the simplicity and amiableness of her principles, how much more lovely when exhibited in the purity and benevolence of her conduct. When we see something more than right views and holy dispositions; when we behold not the portrait, but the living features of her excellence; her image sinks into the soul. Few can rise from the Biography of such men as Xavier, Beveridge, Baxter, Brainerd, Edwards, and Fuller, without deep and vivid impressions of the worth of piety, and of the importance and feasibility of eminent attainments. Who that has traced the footsteps of some favored child of mercy through all the toil and discouragement of the Christian life—that has seen his heavenly spirit—that has witnessed his piety toward God, and his benefi-

cence toward men—that, with delighted admiration, has pursued his path to the threshold of heaven—has not been eager to catch his falling mantle, and bless the Father of Mercies for raising up men to shine as lights in the world, and to shed a lustre through a long line of succeeding generations.

No inconsiderable portion of this hallowed feeling will, it is believed, be excited by contemplating the character of the late SAMUEL J. MILLS. If any man has a claim that his real character should be exhibited, and the extent of his usefulness impartially developed, this claim belongs to the subject of these Memoirs. While few men have more merited public applause and gratitude, few of such eminent usefulness have received less than he. These we know were not the rewards he sought; but it is not the less delightful, nor the less dutiful, that they should be the tribute we pay.

It was the privilege of this beloved man to be the child of pious parents. He was the son of a venerable clergyman, 'whose praise is in the churches,' and who is now the Pastor of a respectable congregation in Torringford, in the county of Litchfield, State of Connecticut. His mother was the daughter of Samuel Robbins, of a respectable family originally from Wethersfield, in Hartford county, in the same State. She was a woman of very exemplary character and pre-eminent piety, and one whose memory is embalmed in the hearts of all who knew her.

Samuel was their seventh child, and was born the 21st of April, 1783.

Could we without sacrilege enter the sanctuary of a mother's bosom, we might whisper a tale that would account for the distinguished usefulness with which God has condescended to favor some of the best of men. Many a godly mother can say,—"I have had peculiar solicitudes respecting *this* child. Even before its birth, I dedicated it to the Lord, and then engaged that it should be unreservedly devoted to his glory. And when the little immortal was committed to my arms, with many prayers and tears did I renew my engagements, till it was strongly impressed on my mind, that God had heard my cry and accepted my offering." This is something more than fiction in relation to Mr. Mills. A plant so early watered might be expected to enjoy the most patient care and unremitting tenderness in its progressive maturity. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," is a maxim too full of obligation and encouragement, to have been so long lost sight of by too many of the Christian Church. It is a precious thought, that God has engaged to preserve a Church in the world from the children of believing parents. What pious parent will not be inspirited in his duty, when he surveys the children of his care, and remembers that it was once said, "of such is the kingdom of heaven!"

The childhood and youth of Mr. Mills were

chiefly spent under his father's roof, in the possession of the most faithful instructions, and of the best kind. When quite a child, his mind exhibited no common sensibility to the concerns of religion, and was easily and sometimes deeply affected with his neglect of religious opportunities, and his ruined condition as a sinner. These impressions gradually wore away, until the year 1798, when they were revived, and his attention powerfully arrested, during a season of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon his native town. This revival of religion took place about the time of a very general "outpouring" upon the churches of New-England; when about one hundred and fifty congregations were visited with seasons of refreshing from the divine presence.

Young Mills was then fifteen years of age. Naturally very retired and incommunicative, he was least of all disposed to say much concerning the exercises of his own mind. But such were his views of his own sinfulness, so severe his distress, and so bitter his opposition to God, that he would sometimes "break out in expressions of unyielding rebellion." With nothing was his dissatisfaction more painful, than the discriminations of the divine favor in showing mercy to those who were around him, while he himself was apparently left to obduracy and ruin. He had beheld many of his companions in years and in sin, together with an elder brother, a sister and a cousin, all residing under the same

roof, rejoicing in hope, and united to the visible Church; while he himself obtained no relief from his agony, but remained in "the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity." Such was his state of mind for many months, and such it continued, when the revival began to decline, and when it was gone by! Two full years he remained in this dismal frame of mind, still refusing to bow at the footstool of mercy; and, to adopt his own sentiment, "at heart still cursing the day in which he was born." But he had seen too much of his own vileness to relapse into a state of unconcern. With some apparent mitigation of his distress he left his father's house for a neighboring town, to take charge of a farm that had been bequeathed him by his maternal grandmother. His letters during this period, convince us that there was much in this absence from the bosom and prayers of his endeared family, to increase his apprehensions, that he should at last be an exile from God's presence, and an outcast from the community of his people. In November, 1801, he returned home with the view of spending the winter at an Academy in the town of Litchfield, about twelve miles off, but with no repose to his depressed and troubled mind. On the morning of his departure for Litchfield, ever anxious for her son, and never more than now, his mother took an opportunity of inquiring into the state of his mind, and begged him to make an ingenuous disclosure of his feelings. For a moment he

was silent, and wept; but his heart was too full, long to suppress the emotions produced by so affecting a request. He raised his head, and with eyes streaming with tears, exclaimed, "O that I had never been born! O that I had never been born! For two years I have been sorry God ever made me." What reply could such a mother make to such a disclosure? It was given her in that same hour what she should speak:—"My son," said she, "you *are* born, and you can never throw off your existence, nor your everlasting accountability for all your conduct." This heavy thought was like a dagger to his soul. His mother expressed her fears that he had never thoroughly seen the evil of his own heart, and that he had much to learn before he was acquainted with himself;—to which he ventured to say, "*I have seen* to the very bottom of hell!" With this frame of mind, he took a melancholy leave of his parents for the winter; and it was a day never to be forgotten in the life of Mr. Mills, nor in our recollection of those splendid schemes of benevolence which characterized his subsequent history, and to which the events of this day bore so intimate a relation. What took place under his father's roof, may be easily conjectured;—a scene, apparently of very little moment, and never unveiled till now—a scene, the world would scarcely deign to look at, but one on which God looks down with smiles—a scene, in which no prince or princess is the actor, but

one which princes might come down from their thrones to emulate:—a devout and humble woman, wrestling with the Angel of the Covenant, and as a prince obtaining power to prevail!

The farewell to his mother drove her to her knees. There is such a thing as special faith in prayer. It was such to this dear saint, when she went to plead for her poor son. She felt his sorrows and her own; and God was pleased not only to show her that all her help was in him, but to enable her to feel that to him could her heart turn as her only God in covenant, and from him could it find unutterable relief. She did not leave her closet, till she found the full relief she sought, and till her mind was confidently assured that God would remember mercy for her child! It ought to be recorded, that on that very morning, it pleased the Holy Ghost, as she afterwards ascertained, to knock off the chains from this unhappy prisoner, and introduce him into the liberty of the sons of God. He had not gone far, before he had such a view of the perfections of God, that he wondered he had never seen their beauty and glory before. There was nothing in God now which distressed him. He had lost all his opposition to the divine sovereignty; and, such were his views of this adorable perfection, that he could not refrain from exclaiming, "O glorious sovereignty! O glorious sovereignty!" He retired a small distance into the woods, that he might be the more at liberty to contemplate the character

of God, and adore and extol his holy and amiable sovereignty: but he here saw so much of God, that his mind was almost lost in the overwhelming manifestation. The scene was altogether new. There was a wonderful change either in God or in him. Every thing was gilded with light and glory; and now and then, as he gazed at the splendor and majesty of the divine character, he would still exclaim, "O glorious sovereignty!" It does not appear that in all this he was bribed into acquiescence. "His mind was so constantly occupied in viewing the perfections of God, and in meditating on his word and works, and so continued for several weeks, that he did not think of himself with any degree of concern." Such is the nature of genuine religion. It is far from being indispensable to our cordial acquiescence in God's character and government, to be persuaded that we are interested in his mercy. Though from Mr. Mills's letters, his friends were induced to hope that some change had taken place in his views; he himself was conscious of no hope, till about three months after this period. "Surely, it shall be said of Jacob and of Israel, What hath God wrought!"

CHAP. II.

His Education and early devotion to the Missionary cause.

We can scarcely fail to have observed, that the Divine Spirit often gives a particular impulse in conversion, which prepares its subject for some particular service. There are those who are impressed with enlarged views of divine truth; and not unfrequently of the importance, consistency, and beauty of some particular truths, which in the developments of Divine Providence, it is seen they are destined to defend and maintain. And there are those who are almost instantaneously roused to purposes of active benevolence, and the first discernible tendencies of whose affections are toward the wants and woes of their perishing fellow-men. To one who is conversant with the peculiarities of their exercises on spiritual subjects, it is not more certain, that Jonathan Edwards and Andrew Fuller were prepared, in the early stages of their Christian experience, for the distinguished part they have acted in illustrating and demonstrating the grand truths of revealed religion,

than were David Brainerd and Samuel J. Mills, for distinguished efforts as Missionaries of the cross.

The direction of young Mills's thoughts may be gathered from a single suggestion, soon after his return from Litchfield. The first idea his father had of his change of mind, arose from an observation he made, "*that he could not conceive of any course of life in which to pass the rest of his days, that would prove so pleasant, as to go and communicate the gospel salvation to the poor heathen.*" His attention was directed to this subject by remarks, which in his childhood he had often heard from the lips of his mother. She was a *Missionary woman*, and frequently spake of Brainerd, and Eliot, and other Missionaries: and as she dwelt upon the glorious cause in which they were engaged, he once heard her say respecting himself—"*I have consecrated this child to the service of God as a Missionary.*" This remark made an impression on his mind that was never effaced. Thus early did a sovereign God, who has pity on the heathen, set apart Samuel J. Mills for a Missionary. And it is somewhat remarkable, that from the first hour of his conversion he never lost sight of his darling object. Though but a youth of nineteen, he discovered a zeal in the Missionary cause, an eagerness in the pursuit of Missionary intelligence, and an enlargement of thought in his plans, to become acquainted with the true state of the unevangelized world, which left little doubt

that he was chained to his purpose by a superior power.

It was a heart yearning over the miseries of perishing millions, that first led him to think of acquiring an education with a view to the gospel ministry. Having consulted his parents, and unfolded all his purpose, which, should God permit, was no less than to devote his life to the cause of Missions in foreign lands; and having received their approbation and their blessing, he resolved on measures for changing his course of life. Though the determination of the son gained the joyful approbation of his parents, it was not without feelings of self-denial: for when he told his mother of his determination to go to the heathen, with the feelings of a mother, she replied—"*I cannot bear to part with you, my son.*" But when he reminded her of what she had said to him when a child, she burst into tears, and never after made the least objection. The Spirit of God came over him, like Elisha in the field. While toiling at the plough, was his heart touched with compassion for the heathen world; and he bid adieu to his farm, to obtain an education on purpose to carry the gospel to millions who perish for lack of knowledge. Thus, in a retired field in Litchfield county, was the King of Zion beginning that grand course of operations which have produced such a mighty revolution in the American Churches, and which bear so intimate a relation to the progressive glories of his kingdom. Having put his

secular concerns into other hands, Mills became a member of Williams College, in Massachusetts, in the Spring of 1806. He connected himself with the Church under the pastoral care of his father, on the first Sabbath of June following, while on a visit at home, and shortly after returned to college. As a scholar, he was of respectable standing; but as a youth who "walked with God," and whose uniform deportment evinced that he was devoted to interests superior to his own, he shone as a light in the earth. Ardent and matured as his piety was at more advanced periods, it may be said of Mr. Mills, that he began his career very much as he ended it. At this early period, his piety was of that strong, yet fervent—that unostentatious, yet practical and efficient kind, that gave the highest evidence that he was a child of God. Engaged in pursuits, in which many a godly youth is allured from duty, by the glare of science and the love of fame, he not merely retained his integrity, and made sensible progression in holiness, but by a deportment so circumspect and kind, that even the enemies of religion could not but respect him; and by a consistency and sweetness of character, which gave so much lustre to vital piety, that his friends felt the reproach of his example,—did he become the means of conversion, steadfastness, and zeal, and will be long remembered as a distinguished blessing to the seminary of which he was a member.

To many a pious youth, the weight of moral obligation seems to be too much suspended during a four years' residence within the walls of a college. Too many appear to feel that they have discharged their obligations, while, irrespective of the present, they only prepare for the future; and it does not come within the purview of their plans to do good, but only to obtain it. It may possibly deserve reflection, whether the indifference of the pious young men who are members of our colleges, to the obligations of active usefulness, may not be one reason why the light of science so often dazzles only to attract and consume the insect that carelessly flutters around it, and why our seminaries of learning, with all their eminent usefulness, so frequently prove a snare. Every where Mills's object was but one. To him, nothing had charms so powerful, as the glory of his Redeemer, and the salvation of men. The conversion of a sinner from the error of his ways, the deliverance of one immortal being from everlasting burnings, was to his benevolent mind enough to compensate a thousand fold for all the laurels of a Cæsar. While he was a member of college, there was a revival of religion in that institution, of which he was the chief instrument. There are not a few of his fellow-students now in the ministry, who owe their hopes of heaven, and their usefulness on earth, to his instrumentality. Nor would we fail to remark, that some of those

beloved men, whom the American Church has been permitted to send into the seclusions of our own wildernesses, and to plant on the banks of the Ganges and the Indus, will long remember his instrumentality in their conversion and Missionary zeal. His cotemporaries at the college will delight to linger on the recollection of his excellence; and can never forget how the salvation of the dear youth with whom he was associated, the revival of pure and undefiled religion, and the desolations of the heathen world, were themes that often drew tears from his eyes and persuasion from his tongue, as he visited from room to room, and walked from grove to grove.

The following extracts from his own Diary will better evince the state of his mind at this period, and be more gratifying to our readers, than any narrative of our own.

"*June* 25, 1806. I hope I shall have an opportunity to retire and address the throne of grace to-day without molestation. O that God would be with me, and assist me in the performance of duty! It will be a stupid time indeed, if the Lord does not pour down his Spirit, and convince me of my unworthiness and dependence. O how unworthy we are at this institution to partake of the crumbs that fall from our Master's table! Blessed be God, he has, as I trust, wrought a good work upon the hearts of some, and is forcing conviction and light upon

the minds of others. I hope nothing may retard the progress of this most glorious work.

"*Thursday*, 26. Attended conference this evening, composed principally of the Freshman Class. A very good meeting. Many very solemn; K—— much cast down. It was very evident God was striving with some of his disobedient creatures. The work is the Lord's, and he is abundantly able to carry it on.—Arise, O Lord, thou and the ark of thy strength! It seems to me I never longed so much for the Sabbath as I do now. I am afraid the impressions of my classmates will wear off. But all things are possible with God.

"*Saturday*, 28. Think I feel something of a praying frame this morning.—O for more fervor, more engagedness, more activity, in the cause of the blessed God! I hope this may be a sweet day to my soul. Think I see something of my unworthiness.

"*Nov.* 10. [After vacation.] I have been in town two weeks. Professing Christians not so much alive as they generally were last term. O that God would revive us again!—that his saints might rejoice, and that immortal souls might be ransomed from eternal death! O that He would make his children feel their dependence, and bring them to cast themselves at his footstool! All our strength is from the Lord: I hope he will not cast us off forever, but carry on his own work as best pleases him. We are brought very low; and if the Lord look not up-

on us, where is our hope? Where can we look but to thy holy hill?"

The outpouring of God's Spirit, here alluded to, though not very extensive, was among the most signal expressions of favor to the Church. The instrumentality the subject of these Memoirs had in this work of grace, we shall lay before the reader, in the language of one of his most valued classmates, who is now succesfully engaged in the Christian ministry. "During the last term of his first year, there was a revival of religion in college, which commenced in his class. It was then my opinion, and I believe the general opinion, that Mr. Mills was principally instrumental, in the hands of God, in producing the blessed work. Certain it is, that no one was so much resorted to as he, by those under serious impressions. He was singularly devoted and engaged, a little before the revival commenced, and while it lasted. Nor did he, after it had ceased, relapse into that state of apathy and indifference so common with many, and to which there are so many temptations in college. It may well be said of him, that he 'walked with God,' and I trust his footsteps were seen long after he left the college."

It is in itself grateful, and of some importance to the subsequent parts of his history, to observe the invariable tendency of his mind toward the grand objects of benevolence to which his life was so sacredly devoted. The following extract

is from his Diary, while a member of college, though under an obliterated date.

"O that I might be aroused from this careless and stupid state, and be enabled to fill up life well! I think I can trust myself in the hands of God, and all that is dear to me; but I long to have the time arrive, when the gospel shall be preached to the *poor Africans*, and likewise to *all nations*."

Ejaculations like these were the true index of his soul. It is his zeal and exertions as a Christian philanthropist, that will attract the deepest and most profitable attention. In this respect, it is no exaggeration to say, he stands almost without a parallel among men not actuated by the miraculous agency of the Holy Ghost. What the memorable Howard was in some few branches of temporal charity, was Samuel J. Mills, in a vast variety of simple yet magnificent plans of Christian beneficence. Few who knew him will question the justice of the observation, that he possessed feelings which suffered him to say very little of himself. Though one of the most modest men I ever saw, he once said to a confidential friend, and a brother in the ministry, of a kindred spirit, "Brother C——s, though you and I are very little beings, we must not rest satisfied till we have made our influence extend to the remotest corner of this ruined world."——This was his real spirit.

Simply to become a Missionary himself, and live and die in Pagan lands, surrounded with all the evidences of successful labor, was with him a very small matter. His charities were the most exalted, and his plans most sublime. He knew how to labor for an interest, distant enough to bring nothing to himself, and "form a purpose to feel and act efficiently for more than two-thirds of the human race, never baptized by the Christian name."

CHAP. III.

His interest and agency in the promotion of Foreign Missions.

AMONG the projects in which Mr. Mills took a deep interest, and which was the first in his own estimation at the time it was conceived, was the design of propagating the gospel among the heathen in foreign lands, by means of Missionaries from this country. It is interesting to trace the connexion between the plans and measures devised by this single youth, in Williams College, and many of the great movements which have since taken place in the American Church. Though very little is to be found among his own papers, which would disclose his instrumentality, the almost universal acknowledgment of men interested in Missionary concerns, attributes to Mr. Mills a distinguished agency in bringing forward a new era in the history of Missions in this Western World.

The dawn of a Missionary spirit had begun to appear in some of the American Churches before. To those who have observed the signs of the times, it cannot be doubtful that a new and splendid era on the other side of the Atlan-

tic was introduced about seven-and-thirty years ago. In the year 1792, the first modern Missionary Society was established by Carey, Fuller, Pearce, and Ryland, at Kettering, in England. In 1795, the London Missionary Society was instituted; and from this period Missionary institutions have been increasing in number throughout the four quarters of the globe. America began gradually to participate in the sacred spirit. Aside from an establishment formed by the Moravians in 1734, and a branch of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians in North America, which was instituted at Boston, in 1787, the honor of commencing the first Missionary exertions in the United States belongs to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. At their first session, as early as the year 1789, that body passed an order requiring the Churches under their care to take up collections for a Missionary Fund; and in 1802, they established a Standing Committee of Missions, which has been in successful operation from that time to the present. The New York Missionary Society was instituted in 1796; the Connecticut Missionary Society in 1798; the Massachusetts Missionary Society in 1799; and the New-Jersey Missionary Society in 1801.

Hitherto, however, the attention of the Western World had been exclusively turned to Domestic Missions, among the new settlements,

and Indians. To the eye of the few who watched its growth, it was obvious that the germ of this tree of life had been gaining strength and activity; but it was not destined to shoot out its branches to the river, and its boughs to the ends of the earth, till the period at which we have now arrived. That she had a distinguished part to act in the conversion of six hundred millions of our guilty creation abroad, beyond her destitute at home, was a thought that had never till now sunk into the bosom of the American Church. Why was it so? Surely no nation possesses greater advantages for disseminating religious truth, whether we regard resources or men; and no nation is under greater obligations to make many and great exertions for this exalted object. Why should the nations of Europe, in the midst of all their conflict and blood, have been sending their sons through different continents and to the islands of the sea, while America, this land of freedom, peace, wealth, and privilege, circumscribes her exertions to a handful of men within her own territory? If there are any who at this late hour are backward to engage in this glorious enterprize, let them know, that the deliverance of the Pagan nations is sure;—let them know that as God has given the heathen to his Son for an inheritance, so he has given the sanction of his own Spirit to means used for their conversion,—and that the most stupid and barbarous of men have been brought within the fold

of the Great Shepherd. If we do not choose to engage in this work, other nations, more faithful, will go forward and be crowned with success; but, "we and our father's house shall be destroyed."

In tracing the progress of the Missionary spirit in this country, in respect of Foreign Missions, we have little else to do than follow the leading events of Mr. Mills's life, from his first year in college, to the embarkation of the American Missionaries for Calcutta, under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners, in the year 1812. As has been already intimated, his devotion to the Missionary cause was early and invincible. It was not, however, until he became a member of college, that his spirit of Missions came out to view. It was then that the subject of Missions fastened upon his attention, engrossed the meditations of his serious hours, took deep hold of his feelings, and became the burden of his prayers. It seems to have been a peculiar visitation of the Spirit of God, that turned all the solicitude and affection of his heart to this object. He reflected long and prayed much, before he disclosed his views; and when he determined to unburden his mind, by conversing with two or three of his more intimate fellow-students, it was in a manner that deserves to be related:—He led them out into a meadow, at a distance from the college, to a retirement, probably familiar to himself, though little exposed to observation or

liable to be approached, where, by the side of a large stack of hay, he devoted the day to prayer and fasting, and familiar conversation on this new and interesting theme; when, much to his surprise and gratification, he found that the Spirit of God had been enkindling in their bosoms the flame which had been so long burning in his own.

Mills first, while in college, unbosomed himself to Gordon Hall and James Richards, and afterwards to others. The reader will not be surprised to learn that from this hour, this endeared retreat was often made solemn by the presence and hallowed by the piety of these dear young men. To this consecrated spot, on the banks of the Hoosack, they often repaired, on Saturday afternoons, to cherish the high-born influence, and dedicate themselves renewedly to Christ in this cause; to spend many a blessed day in humiliation, fasting and prayer; and there to offer to a present God those early and fervent supplications, to which may be traced the institution of Foreign Missions in the American Churches. Thus they continued to talk together, and pray over the subject, from some time in the summer or autumn of 1807 to the spring of 1808, when a Society was organized, whose operations and existence were entirely unknown to the rest of the college. This Society was formed by Mills, Richards, and two or three others, in the north-west lower room of the east college; in which the Society with considera-

ble additions used afterwards to meet. The object of this Society was to make *inquiries*, and to organize plans for future Missions.——There is something inexpressibly pleasant in those seasons of favored devotion, when the mind perceives the coincidence between some of its own best emotions and the operations of the Holy Spirit. Such, we think, must frequently have been the gratification of this fraternal band.

The mind of Mills and his associates had now received a new impulse; and their paramount object was to devise measures to carry the plans which had begun to present themselves in some definite shape, into immediate execution. Public opinion was at this time decidedly opposed to the enterprize of Foreign Missions, such as Mills contemplated; and good men even, often said that it was the offspring of an over-heated zeal, and would soon be forgotten. In order to correct this sentiment, and to carry forward their benevolent design, the following are among the expedients which they adopted. They introduced the subject to the attention of ministers and Christians, discussing the greatness of the end to be accomplished, and the means to be put in requisition. They re-published, at their own responsibility, two Missionary Sermons: one by Dr. Griffin, preached before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church; the other by Dr. Livingston, preached before the New York Missionary Society for sending the gospel to the North American Indians. They circu-

lated these Sermons as generally as possible, and were in the habit of reading them in families, social companies of Christians, and in conference meetings whenever they had opportunity. They made out a written list of some of the most distinguished clergymen of their acquaintance, and determined to urge the subject upon their attention, until their object was effected. Among this number were Drs. Worcester, Griffin, Morse, and Dana. These individuals they visited repeatedly, and with some of them spent their vacations, laboring among their people, and at the same time pressing their suit. Dr. Worcester was the first to "take fire."

It was the part of Mills to devise plans, and then to put others in motion to execute them: for this he had a wonderful tact. He wished to be unseen in all his movements, and he seemed to be led while he was actually leading others. Of this trait of character his whole life affords a grand illustration, a particular instance of which we have in his studying divinity with Dr. Griffin. "I had always refused," says the Dr. "such applications; but from the love I bore to him, I agreed to criticize one sermon a week. After that exercise, he would commonly sit, and draw letters very moderately and cautiously out of his pocket, and read passages to me on some benevolent project. At length I perceived that *studying divinity* with me had been quite a secondary object; that his chief

object was to get me engaged to execute his plans. As soon as I discovered that, I told him to bring out his letters and all his plans, without reserve."

Well persuaded that a successful appeal could not be made to the Churches, without first increasing the number of men who were willing to devote their lives to this self-denying service; Mills and his associates commenced operation upon the minds of their fellow students, endeavoring to fill them with the knowledge and inspire them with the spirit of Missions. It was a part of their plan to introduce similar Societies into other colleges. For this purpose one of their number left Williams and joined Middlebury College. Mills himself had made up his mind to transfer his relation to Yale College, with the same design, and actually made a journey to New-Haven, to explore the ground. Attempts were made also to introduce the Society into Union and Dartmouth Colleges, which failed.

Mills graduated September 5, 1809, and soon after became a resident graduate, for a few months, at Yale College. His ostensible object was the study of theology; but his real object was to ascertain whether there were not some kindred spirits in that institution, who could be excited and encouraged to participate in this glorious enterprize. The purpose of an all-pervading Providence in this movement, was, however, different from his own. Shortly after his arrival at New-Haven, he became acquainted

with the lamented OBOOKIAH, a heathen youth from one of the Sandwich Islands, who will be introduced to the attention of the reader in some subsequent part of this volume, and whose memory will long be tenderly cherished, especially by the pious in our country. Though we can say little of the success of his visit to New-Haven, so far as relates to the infusion of a Missionary spirit, or increasing the active friends of Foreign Missions, among the members or graduates of the college; subsequent events can hardly fail to leave the impression, that his steps were guided to that place by no ordinary impulse.

The following spring, Mr. Mills became a member of the Theological Seminary at Andover. Soon after he united himself with this institution, he was visited with a very bitter bereavement, to which he alludes, with much characteristic sentiment, in the following letter:—It was the death of his mother.

"*Dear Sir*—I have just received your kind letter of January 24th, and thank you for the share you are pleased to take in our afflictions. May you, Sir, as you are disposed to mourn with those that mourn, receive the blessing of kind Heaven.

"I hope my bosom will not heave a murmuring sigh because of this chastising stroke. God, as we trust, had redeemed the soul of our dear parent; and her Saviour, looking down, said,

'Come up hither.' And why should we say to her pure spirit, 'Stay yet a little longer?' What had we to offer her if she had tarried? Nothing, except that which we all inherit by the fall, 'stripes, chains, and a dungeon.' For being sanctified but in part, her remaining sins would lead her astray, and she must be chastised to bring her back to God. These would have been her stripes. A thousand tender ties which bind us down to things which perish in the using, and 'pestered in this pin-hole here, which men call earth;'—this her dungeon. It is thus we languish. And is not that a dungeon which excludes the matchless beauties of the eternal Godhead, and gives us not so fair a view as Moses had, when hid within the clefts of the rock? She now is *free indeed!*—made free by grace, and doubly freed by death. When I left Andover, I thought most likely I should see my mother alive—when I arrived at Hartford, I was informed she was no more! Her last sigh had escaped me. I hoped the information was not correct, and half believed it, until a second inquiry helped to confirm my fears. On my way, before I arrived home, I passed the burying ground; and if I called there, I knew it would satisfy all doubts. If she was dead, I could tell where they had laid her; for my father in my earliest days would lead me to the burying ground, and tell me where my mother would be buried, and where he should be laid; and I would weep, and hope that I should lie there first.—

When I arrived at the burying ground, the grave was newly covered—it was my mother's! Here I gave vent to the most impassioned burst of wo. I wept not that my mother had gone to glory, but that I should see her face no more—no more should hear her warning voice—no more should share her prayers. Her dust is precious dust, and shall arise triumphant, when the trump of her Jesus shall call her to judgment. Upon my arrival home, I found the gray locks of an afflicted father had been shaken by the blast: still he seemed to be supported from above, and hopes, that as his day is, so his strength will be. He thanks you, dear Sir, and all his Christian friends, who remember him in their prayers."

This dear woman died in the faith and hope of the gospel, on the 30th of December, 1810. It was while he was a member of the Theological Seminary, that the compiler of these sheets was first honored with an acquaintance with this invaluable man. Here Mr. Mills found several of his former companions, who had dedicated themselves to the cause of Missions while together at Williams College; and here he renewed his operations with all his wonted zeal and energy. Whether any remnant of the Society, of which Mills and his companions were such bright ornaments, continued at Williams College after they removed to Andover, is not known; but certain it is that while they were

there, its influence in swaying the sentiment of the college, and in enlisting for their grand enterprize the feelings of the public, was by no means inconsiderable. "I have been in situations to *know*," says Dr. Griffin, "that from the counsels formed in that sacred conclave, or from the mind of Mills himself, arose the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible Society, the United Foreign Missionary Society, and the African School, under the care of the Synod of New York and New Jersey: besides all the impetus given to Domestic Missions, to the Colonization Society, and to the general cause of benevolence in both hemispheres." He then adds—"If I had any instrumentality in originating any of those measures, I here publicly declare, that in every instance, I received the first impulse from Samuel John Mills."

The subject of Missions to the heathen had already begun to occupy the minds of several of the students not originally members of this Society, and a number were seriously and painfully inquiring concerning their duty in this important particular. Messrs. Newell, Judson, and Nott, in connexion with Messrs. Mills and Hall, held frequent consultations on this momentous subject, which issued in a resolution, to combine their exertions in immediately enterprizing a Mission to foreign lands.

The writer well recollects the course Mr. Mills pursued while at Andover, to diffuse a

Missionary zeal throughout that seminary. It was his method to attach himself to the company of those students whose minds were exercised on the subject, and by judicious conversation, by a careful and unimpassioned presentation of the arguments, to bring them to adopt the conclusion, that it was their duty to devote their lives to the heathen. And never was an ambitious politician, seeking the honours and emoluments of office, more unremittingly or zealously engaged. His Missionary exertions constituted his relaxation from study; and he might always be found, during his leisure hours, in little circles of his brethren, engaged in conversation on these interesting topics. He had made himself complete master of the subject; and daily might be seen, arm in arm, with one or more of his fellow-students, either provoking inquiry, or renewing former suggestions, or pressing the obligation to Missions upon their consciences, by considerations well nigh irresistible. There was a beautiful grove that spread itself in the rear of the college buildings; and "along that shady walk," says one of his fellow Missionaries, "where I have often walked, alone, Mr. Mills has often been my companion, and there urged the importance of Missions to the heathen. And when he had reached some sequestered spot, where there was no fear of interruption, he would say—'Come, God only can guide us right; let us kneel down and pray:'—and then he would pour out his

soul in an ardent supplication for the blessing of God, and the guidance of his Holy Spirit."

It is not difficult to conjecture the state of Mr. Mills's mind, when the subject of Foreign Missions began to be the theme of public discussion, and the objections of "the wise and the unwise" threatened to retard, if not entirely defeat, the benevolent project. At first view, there are objections to such an enterprize, which, however fallacious, are exceedingly plausible. If any should inquire why we take so much pains to send the gospel to the heathen, when we have so many destitute among ourselves? Why attempt to supply the wants of China and Hindostan, when we must leave multitudes perishing at our own doors?—What think you is the reply of the world to such an objection as this? "If Christians really believe that Christ tasted death for every man, that there is salvation in no other, and that a great part of the world are actually perishing in ignorance of this only Saviour;—if they really believe all this, why do they not concern themselves to have this gospel made known to every creature? Why has this been neglected so long?—And, alas! the heathen join in the same bitter reproach. The Missionary tells them that he has come to proclaim to them a *Saviour*, the Son of God, who has shed his blood to atone for the sins of the world; and who has commanded his servants to publish the glad tidings every where for the salvation of all

men.——When, says the Pagan, did this Saviour die? Eighteen hundred years ago, replies the Missionary.——When did he command his servants to publish every where these good tidings?——Just before he ascended from earth to heaven, which was shortly after his death and resurrection.——Surprising! says the Pagan. If you Christians have known all these things, and really believe that we ignorant heathen must perish unless we believe in Jesus Christ, *how could you* leave so great a part of the world, for so many generations, to go down to perdition, *without coming sooner* to tell us of this only way in which we can be saved?—This is not idle fancy; it is matter of distressing fact. Is it not time to arise and pluck this dreadful weapon from the hand of idolatry abroad, and infidelity at home?"

The narrow policy of such objections surely was not the principle of action on which the Church was extended in the Apostolic age, or will be extended in the future ages of the world. But there is little occasion to argue a point which has been so ably argued by others. To a sober mind, the subject lies within a very narrow compass. The Churches know that hundreds of millions are perishing through ignorance of a Saviour;—Christ has absolutely commanded his disciples to go and preach the gospel to every one of them; and has pledged his faithfulness, that if they will go, their exertions for the heathen shall be the means of greater

exertions at home. And has he not redeemed the pledge? How can any reflecting man evade the obligation, to be at least the decided and zealous friend of Foreign Missions?

With fervent gratitude to the God of grace let it be acknowledged, that he was pleased to smile upon the designs of Mr. Mills and his associates, in turning the hearts of the Churches toward this favorite object. Men of intelligence and piety did not long hesitate in the adoption of measures which should embody the weight and influence of New-England in giving form and motion to this mighty machinery. Though we would not claim for Mr. Mills the honor of maturing the operations of the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," he is justly entitled to the praise of originating the plan of that noble institution. It was through his instrumentality, and the advice and co-operation of the Reverend Professors in the Theological Seminary at Andover, the Rev. Dr. Worcester, of Salem, the Secretary and principal Agent of the Board after it was constituted,—and if a son may be permitted to record it, the Rev. Dr. Spring, of Newburyport, that, on the motion of the last named gentleman, the subject was first introduced to the attention of the General Association of Massachusetts, at their Annual Meeting in Bradford, in 1810. The following extract from their Minutes will present the facts as they then occurred.

At a Meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts Proper, at Bradford, on Wednesday, the 27th of June, 1810.—"Four young gentlemen, members of the Divinity College, were introduced and presented the following Paper:

"The undersigned, members of the Divinity College, respectfully request the attention of their Reverend Fathers, convened in the General Association at Bradford, to the following statement and inquiries:

"They beg leave to state, that their minds have been long impressed with the duty and importance of personally attempting a Mission to the heathen; that the impressions on their minds have induced a serious, and they trust a prayerful consideration of the subject in its various attitudes, particularly in relation to the probable success and the difficulties attending such an attempt; and that after examining all the information which they can obtain, they consider themselves as devoted to this work for life, whenever God in his providence shall open the way.

"They now offer the following inquiries, on which they solicit the opinion and advice of this Association. Whether, with their present views and feelings, they ought to renounce the object of Missions, as visionary or impracticable; if not, whether they ought to direct their attention to the eastern or the western world—

whether they may expect patronage and support from a Missionary Society in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of a European Society; and what preparatory measures they ought to take, previous to actual engagement?

"The undersigned, feeling their youth and inexperience, look up to their Fathers in the Church, and respectfully solicit their advice, direction, and prayers.

"*Adoniram Judson, jr.*
"*Samuel Nott, jr.*
"*Samuel J. Mills,*
"*Samuel Newell.*"

This document was referred to a Special Committee, who in their report recognized the imperative obligation and importance of Missions —expressed their conviction that the gentlemen who had thus modestly expressed their views, ought not to renounce, but sacredly cherish their sacred impressions; and submitted the outlines of a plan, which at that meeting was carried into effect, in the appointment of a Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, "for the purpose of devising ways and means, and adopting and prosecuting measures for promoting the spread of the gospel in heathen lands."

Here was laid the corner-stone of an edifice, which will long be the ornament of the American Church: broad its foundation—beautiful its superstructure—lofty its dome. Such is the

origin of an institution, which, for the extension of its plans, and the wisdom of its direction, and the success of its efforts, stands forward a distinguished monument of divine favor to the American people.

As soon as the Board had become engaged in "devising ways and means" for carrying forward this enterprize, we find Mr. Mills, with a few others of a kindred spirit, making new and more extensive efforts to excite and keep up the spirit of Missions. He 'trusted that in a short time many Missions would be established; and for this end, he knew that a long list of Missionaries must be raised up; and he wished to see the Seminary to which he now belonged "ordained and stamped" a Foreign Mission Institution. To secure, as far as possible, the accomplishment of these objects, a Society of Inquiry respecting Missions was formed in January, 1811, by Messrs. Mills, Nott, Dean, Ide, Rice, Robbins, S. Woodruff, and J. Richards. This Society, undoubtedly, grew out of the one which Mills projected and in which he took so deep an interest while at Williams College. Its object was the same; and, to preserve it "sacred to the cause," none were permitted to join it, except in "extraordinary cases," but those who "manifested an attachment to the cause of Missions." More than thirty of those who have gone into the service of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, have been members of this Society. And it is now, by its

extensive inquiries, exerting no very inconsiderable influence on the great objects of modern benevolence.

While at College, and as early as 1808, Mr. Mills frequently suggested that it would, probably, be necessary for some one or more of the first Missionaries to visit England. The consideration of this subject was renewed at Andover; and not many months after the formation of the Board, and after considerable exertion at home, and some inquiry abroad, it was resolved that Mr. Judson should repair to England, with the view of ascertaining what assistance could be afforded to the Mission by the London Missionary Society. "He was welcomed with great cordiality by the Directors of the London Society, who engaged to take him and his three brethren under their care, and to allow them salaries, and employ them on a mission, if the funds of the American Board should not be competent for their support." Contrary to the expectation of the Board, Mr. Judson, during his absence, felt himself justified in entering into partial arrangements at least, to become the Missionary of the London Society in the East-Indies. In view of such a measure, Mr. Mills, in writing to a friend, exclaims, "What! is England to support her own Missionaries and ours likewise? O shame! If brother Judson is prepared, I would fain press him forward with the arm of an Hercules, if I had the strength; but I do not like this dependence on another nation, espe-

cially when they have already done so much, and we nothing. I trust that each of the brethren will stand at their several posts, determined, God helping them, to show themselves MEN. Perhaps the fathers will soon arise, and take the business of Missions into their own hands. But should *they* hesitate, let us be prepared to GO FORWARD,—trusting to that God for assistance who hath said, Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

Not long after this period, however, the Board were relieved from their pecuniary embarrassment, by the liberality of a distinguished lady, whose name will ever be endeared in the grateful recollections of the writer. Let it not be recorded without the warmest emotions of admiration, that, in the infancy of this institution, no less than *thirty thousand* dollars, from a single bequest, laid the basis for a permanent fund, to send the gospel to the heathen. The late Mrs. MARY NORRIS, widow of the late John Norris, of Salem, Massachusetts, one of the founders of the Andover Seminary, was raised up, by a gracious Providence, to become the devoted patron of Foreign Missions, and by her memorable munificence, to "spread the throb of joy through the heathen world."

The first efforts of this institution resulted in the embarkation of the Rev. Messrs. Hall, Nott, Rice, Judson, and Newell, for Calcutta, in the month of February, 1812. These were followed by the Rev. Messrs. Bardwell, Meigs, Poor,

Richards, and Warren, who sailed for Ceylon in October, 1815; these, by the Rev. Messrs. Graves and Nichols, who embarked for Bombay in October, 1817; and these by the Rev. Messrs. Winslow, Spaulding, and Woodward, together with Dr. John Scudder, a physician of good professional reputation and practice, who embarked for Ceylon on the 8th of June, 1819. Besides these, the Board have Missions among the Cherokees, commenced in 1817; among the Chickasaws, commenced by the Missionary Society of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, and transferred to the Board in 1827; among the Choctaws, commenced in 1818; among the Osages, commenced in 1820; the Cherokees of the Arkansas; and the Indians in Ohio; at Mackinaw, commenced in 1823; at Green Bay, commenced in 1828; and also among the Senecas and Tuscaroras in the State of New-York. In addition to these exertions, in 1819 they set on foot a heavy Mission to the Sandwich Islands. The first outfit for this Mission consisted of nineteen natives of America, seven gentlemen, with their wives, and five children; and four natives of the Sandwich Islands: these all embarked at Boston, on the 23d of October. On the third of the next month, the Rev. Messrs. Parsons and Fisk, embarked for Western Asia. The receipts of the Board for the year 1819, are stated to have been thirty-seven thousand dollars, and their expenditures to have surpassed forty thousand; for the

year 1828, their receipts were, $102,009 64, and their expenditures during the same period amounted to $107,676 25. The following summary is from their nineteenth annual Report, for the year 1828:—"There are now under the care of the Board forty-six Missionary stations, including one that is temporarily vacant. Connected with these stations there are forty-three ordained Missionaries, four licensed preachers, four catechists, and one hundred and seventy-two other Missionary assistants, male and female; making the whole number of Missionary laborers from this country, two hundred and twenty-three. There are, also, thirty-six native assistants, who are immediately connected with the Mission families; and as preachers, catechists, superintendents of schools, and distributors of tracts, are of great service in extending knowledge and Christianity. Besides these, there are about six hundred native teachers of free schools, connected principally with the Missions at Bombay, Ceylon, and the Sandwich Islands; most of whom were themselves first instructed, and all of whom are superintended in their labors, by the Missionaries. Five hundred and twenty-three exclusive of the Mission families, are members of the churches at the several stations. There are thirty-two thousand nine hundred and nineteen pupils in the Mission schools; of whom about eight hundred and seventy are in the boarding schools, at the stations. The Board have seven printing

presses connected with the different Missions, which are kept in constant operation, and have printed, or are in readiness for printing, in nine different languages. The whole number of copies of works printed at these presses, principally elementary school books, translations from the scriptures, and religious tracts, must now exceed five hundred thousand, and the number of pages twenty millions; most of which have been put in circulation. Thus languages, which were never before written, have been reduced to system and printed, and are now made the vehicles of diffusing knowledge widely; and others, in which were no books, except such as were filled with erroneous and polluting sentiments, are now made the channels of conveying useful knowledge and the word of God to the millions who speak them. Thousands of minds, which were wasting in ignorance and inaction, are becoming enlightened and fitted to perform the responsible duties of life. Others, which were the abodes of base and malignant passions, are becoming full of righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. The gospel is preached to hundreds of thousands sitting in the shadow of death. The Spirit descends, as upon our own churches, and the heathen are becoming new creatures in Christ.

Here let us pause. Who will not admire the condescension of the adorable Head of the Church, in permitting so much to be accomplished by the designs of a single individual!

Could Mr. Mills have lived to witness the rapid advancement of this glorious design; could he have seen the whole army of the redeemed in New England in motion; could he have seen ten thousand hearts leaping in joyful eagerness, and ten thousand hands opened in liberal charities toward this hallowed cause; could he have seen the daily accession of talent and youthful vigour, as they have been consecrated to the work; could he have beheld so many Missionary stations blessing the dark regions of Asia, and have been told of the conversions amid the desolations and cruelties of our own wilderness; could he have been permitted to breathe his blessing into the breeze that wafts the glad tidings of great joy to the native isles of his own dear Obookiah; could he, lastly, have beheld the "holy city Jerusalem," the scene of a mission from the American church,—surely he had felt he had not lived in vain. Some of these glorious events he was permitted to witness; and with what weeping modesty he occasionally adverted to them, a few will long remember. Never has he been more endeared, than when on one or two occasions he has been seen to be drowned in tears, and abased with self-confusion, in attempting to give utterance to his own views of what God had condescended to accomplish through the instrumentalities of one so worthless as he.

CHAPTER IV.

His acquaintance with Obookiah, and the consequent establishment of the Foreign Mission School.

We have already mentioned the name of *Obookiah.* Mr. Mills's acquaintance with this youth forms an important era in his life, and in the history of Missions in the western world. Obookiah was a native of Hawaii, the largest of the Sandwich Islands. He was born about the year 1792. His parents ranked with the common people; but his mother was distantly related to the family of the King. During his youth, there was an unhappy contest in the island, as to the right of succession. After a severe and frightful carnage, the party to which the father of Obookiah attached himself was overpowered. The conquerors, having driven their antagonists from the field, next turned their rage upon the villages and families of the vanquished. On the alarm of their approach, the father took his wife and two children, and fled to the mountains, where he concealed himself with his family for several days in a cave. Venturing at length to leave their retreat, they were surprised

by a party of the enemy, while in the act of quenching their thirst at a neighboring spring. The father fled. To decoy him from his retreat, the enemy seized his wife and children and put them to the torture. The artifice succeeded. Unable to bear the piercing cries of his family, the father returned, and with his wife was cut in pieces. An infant brother, Obookiah endeavored to save from the fate of his parents, by taking him upon his back and making his escape; but he was pursued, and his little brother pierced through with a spear, while Obookiah, by some mysterious providence, was saved alive. Being now a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, he was taken home to the house of the very man who murdered his parents. Here he resided till he was found by an uncle, who was High Priest of the island, and who received him into his family and treated him as a child. In narrating his own history, Obookiah says, "At the death of my parents I was with them; I saw them killed with a bayonet; and with them my little brother, not more than two or three months old; so that I was left alone without father or mother in this wilderness world. Poor boy! thought I within myself, after they were gone, are there any father or mother of mine at home, that I may go and find them at home? No: poor boy am I. And while I was at play with other children, after we had made an end of playing, they returned to their parents, but I was returned into tears; for I

have no home, neither father nor mother. I thought of nothing more, but want of father or mother, and to cry day and night." While Obookiah was with his uncle, he began to think of leaving his native island for some other part of the globe. About this time, a ship belonging to New-Haven, touched at the island on her return voyage from the North-West Coast—in which he made an arrangement to take passage for America, and in the year 1809 was brought to New-Haven. "Here he began early to express a strong wish to be instructed, and to obtain a Christian education. He visited the house of God on the Sabbath, and lingered about the College, trying to catch something to gratify the thirst of his mind for knowledge; and when he found that he could understand little or nothing, and that the treasures of knowledge which were open to others, were locked up from him, he sat down and wept on the threshold of the College buildings." Here he was found by the Rev. Edwin W. Dwight, then a resident graduate at the College, and for the first year the Principal of the Foreign Mission School, who spared no effort in the instruction of his new pupil. By a pleasing coincidence of circumstances, Mr. Mills, on his arrival at New-Haven, became the companion of Mr. Dwight, and was deeply interested in this heathen boy. He soon conceived the plan of educating him as a Missionary to his native islands; and took him in the course of the winter to his father's,

at Torringford, and afterwards to Andover, patiently instructing him in the knowledge of what is useful in this life, and momentous to the life to come. We are happy in being able to submit Mr. Mills's own narrative of this providence, contained in a letter to the Rev. Gordon Hall, then a student in the Theological Seminary at Andover, and late a Missionary in the island of Bombay. Though it relates to some other events besides his first acquaintance with Obookiah, we shall transcribe it chiefly entire.

"*New-Haven, December* 20, 1809.

"VERY DEAR BROTHER,

"I received your kind letter, and feel much indebted to you. I have been in this place about two months. When I came, I found my worthy friend E. Dwight here: I roomed with him about two weeks, and then removed my quarters to the Rev. Mr. Stuart's, with whom I have lived to the present time. As every day is not so singularly spent by me as this has been, I will notice something not a little extraordinary.

"To make my narrative understood, you must go back with me to my first arrival in this place. Mr. Dwight, I then found, was instructing a native Hawaiian boy. Two natives of this island arrived here five or six months ago, and this was one of them. As I was in the room with Mr. Dwight, I heard the youth recite occasionally, and soon became considerably

attached to him. His manners are simiple: he does not appear to be vicious in any respect, and he has a great thirst for knowledge. In his simple manner of expressing himself, he says, *The people in Hawaii very bad—they pray to gods made of wood. Poor Indians don't know nothing.*——He says, *Me want to learn to read this Bible, and go back then, and tell them to pray to God up in heaven.* I called into Dwight's room last evening, and had not been long there, before Henry, (for this is his English name,) came into the room with a very gloomy countenance. Says he, *Me feel very bad.* I asked him why he felt bad?—*Me got no place to live.* I then asked him if he was not going to live with ———? He said, *No: he say, me may go away—he no more want me.* I told him he need not be concerned; I would find a place for him. He said, *Miss* ——— *say she take away my new clothes.* I told him he need not be afraid of that, for I had clothes enough for both of us. He did not appear to know what course to take. I told him he might go home with me, and live at my father's, and have whatever he wanted. He then came with me to my room. I heard him read his lesson, and attempted to instruct him in some of the first principles of Christianity, of which he was almost entirely ignorant. He then retired for the night.

"I now come to the transactions of to-day. As it was eleven o'clock when I began to write this letter, I will be as brief as I can, and re-

late things so that you may understand me. This morning I repaired to Mr. Dwight's room. He felt interested in behalf of Obookiah, and thought he had best endeavor to find a place for him, where he could work a part of the time, and pay for his board, and recite as he had done. I told him I did not think he had best stay in town, as he would be exposed to bad company, and most likely be treated as a slave, rather than as a friend and brother. I told him further, that as my father was one of the Missionary Trustees, he would no doubt obtain for him a support, if it was thought best to educate him, which is my intention to attempt so far as that he may be able to instruct his countrymen, and, by God's blessing, convert them to Christianity. To this he could hardly object. He had been talking with the President of the College, and I told him I would see him on the subject. In the afternoon I called upon him, and related to him a part of my plan, which was that Obookiah should go with me to my father's, and live with him this winter, and be instructed in the first principles of reading and writing, as well as of Christianity, where he would be abundantly furnished with the means of acquiring both. Some other arguments I used, which I cannot now relate. The President came fully into the opinion that this was the most eligible course which could be pursued, if Obookiah was willing to go. Obookiah is his Indian name, and he is seventeen years old. I told him he would

be glad to go; he was without a home—without a place to eat or sleep. The poor and almost friendless Hawaiian would sit down disconsolate, and the honest tears would flow freely down his sun-burnt face; but since this plan has been fixed upon, he has appeared cheerful, and feels quite at ease. I propose to leave town in two weeks, with this native of the South to accompany me to Torringford, where I intend to place him under the care of those whose benevolence is without a bond to check, or a limit to confine it. Here I intend he shall stay until next spring, if he is contented. Thus you see, he is like to be firmly fixed by my side.

"What does this mean? Brother Hall, do you understand it? Shall he be sent back unsupported, to attempt to reclaim his countrymen? Shall we not rather consider these southern islands a proper place for the establishment of a Mission? Not that I would give up the heathen tribes of the west. I trust we shall be able to establish more than one Mission in a short time, at least in a few years; and that God will enable us to extend our views and labors further than we have before contemplated. We ought not to look merely to the heathen on our own continent, but to direct our attention where we may, to human appearance, do the most good, and where the difficulties are the least. We are to look to the climate—established prejudices—the acquisition of language—the means of subsistence, &c. &c. All these things, I

apprehend, are to be considered. The field is almost boundless, in every part of which there ought to be Missionaries. In the language of an animated writer, but I must say, *he is of another country,—O that we could enter at a thousand gates—that every limb were a tongue, and every tongue a trumpet, to spread the gospel sound!* The men of Macedonia cry, Come over and help us. This voice is heard from the north, and from the south, and from the east, and from the west. O that we might glow with desire to preach the gospel to the heathen, that is altogether irresistible! The spirit of burning hath gone forth. The camp is in motion. The Levites, we trust, are about to bear the vessels, and the great command is, Go FORWARD. Let us, my dear brother, rely with the most implicit confidence on those great, eternal, precious promises contained in the word of God: *And Jesus answered and said, Verily I say unto you, there is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake and the gospel's, but he shall receive an hundred fold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions; and in the world to come, eternal life.* Be strong, therefore, and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded. Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most Mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty; and in thy majesty ride prosperously, because of truth, and meek-

ness, and righteousness; and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things. Let us exclaim with the poet,

> "Come then, and, added to thy many crowns,
> Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth,
> Thou who alone art worthy! It was thine
> By ancient covenant, e'er nature's birth;
> And thou hast made it thine by purchase since,
> And overpaid its value with thy blood."

"Now, brother Hall, for a review of your letter. You complain that the influences of the Holy Spirit are in a great measure withdrawn from you. Brother Hall, do you expect to be always on Pisgah's top? If you do, farewell; for you may rest assured, that I shall be often and for a long time in the valley, and perhaps you would need the telescope of Herschel to discover me. I know that we are bound to live a life of faith on the Son of God, and that at every departure from our duty, we incur immense guilt. Were it not that God is seated on a throne of mercy, I should not dare raise my presumptuous eyes towards heaven; but, confounded and aghast, must call upon the rocks and mountains to fall upon me. But his arm is not shortened, that it cannot save; nor his ear heavy, that it cannot hear. Past a doubt, our iniquities have separated between him and us. Let us then be prayerful, humble, and devout, knowing that in due time we shall reap, if we

faint not. As to Missions, you know some will be greatly animated with the subject at first view, and then begin to flag and droop. These are not the men we want, and therefore must carefully guard against placing confidence in them. I wish we were able to break forth as to numbers, like the Irish rebellion, thirty thousand strong. Not a man could be spared. The whole number would be wanted. But much as I wish for an increase, I would, as far as in my power, prevent those from engaging who had not thought much on the subject, and were not prepared to endure all things for the elect's sake. Without the aids of divine grace, we shall all fail of attaining this glorious high calling. Even Mark once fled from the work of the apostolic Mission; but God blessed the efforts of Paul and Barnabas, and they were the means of recovering him to a sense of his duty, and he soon obtained a good report among the apostles. A confidence in human strength will utterly defeat us. * * * * * * * *

"Ever yours,

"S. J. MILLS.

"Mr. Gordon Hall."

While Obookiah was at New-Haven, Torringford, and Andover, there was no small degree of interest excited among the people of God, who were acquainted with his history. In ardent anticipation of his conversion, and in the full confidence that "a new era was about to com-

mence in relation to the Sandwich Islands, many prayers were offered up for this poor stranger. While at Andover, as we have the best reason to believe, he became the subject of renovating grace. He had been frequently serious, and had relapsed into stupidity; and particularly during a few months he spent at an academy in the vicinity of Andover, in pursuing the elementary branches of education. On his return, an important change took place in his feelings, which it will be proper to give in his own words:—"In the spring season of the year 1811, I hired myself out for a month or two, on account of my health, with Mr. F., who lived about five miles from the college. Mr. F. one day sent me into the woods, not far from the house, to work. I took an axe, and went and worked there till toward noon. But here—O! I come to myself again! many thoughts come into my mind that I was in a dangerous situation. I thought that if I should then die, I must certainly be cast off forever. While I was working, it appeared as it was a voice, saying, *Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?* I worked no longer, but dropped my axe and walked a few steps from the place; for the people in the house would soon send a lad after me, for it was noon. I fell upon my knees, and looked up to the Almighty Jehovah for help. I was not but an undone and hell-deserving sinner. I felt that it would be just that God should cast me off whithersoever he would; that he

should do with my poor soul as it seemed to him fit. I spent some time here, until I heard a boy calling for me—and I went. The people in the house asked of my sadness—to which I gave but little answer. In the night, my sleep was taken away from me. I kept awake almost the whole night. Many of my feelings and thoughts in past time, came into remembrance—and how I treated the mercy of God while I was at Bradford academy. The next morning I rose up before the rest, and went to a place where I was alone by myself. Here I went both morning, night, and noon. At this little place, I find some comfort; and when I go there, I enjoy myself better all the day."

Few persons have given greater evidence of a work of grace on the heart than this dear heathen youth. "By this early and joyful fruit of their labors, those who had already undertaken his instruction, felt themselves committed and bound to proceed; and others were induced to take a part in the labor of love, of fitting him to be a messenger of salvation to his countrymen. Whilst these things were taking place in respect to Obookiah, the discovery was made that others of his countrymen were wandering in our land, in circumstances which demanded the attention of the friends of Zion. Some of them were taken up, and put in a course of instruction." In the mean time, "other youth from the Sandwich Islands, and from other parts of the heathen world, were soon cast in their way, and

in such numbers, as to call for more systematic and extended measures."

Such was the origin of the Foreign Mission School, which was located in Cornwall, in the State of Connecticut. This institution was received under the care of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in the autumn of 1816, and holds an interesting place in the history of their operations. In 1819 this institution contained thirty two pupils; and these of different nations, languages, and tongues, under heaven—some from the Sandwich Islands, some from the Society Islands, some from Asia, together with seventeen aboriginal Americans, and six young persons from our own country; all enjoying the fostering care of the churches, forming an important object of their prayers, and destined, we trust, "to shine as lights" in the "dark places of the earth."

The Board continued to bestow upon the school its patronage and watchful care until 1826, when a Committee was appointed "to examine into all its concerns, and report their opinion respecting the course which Providence shall seem to render judicious and necessary. The result was, "that the continuance of the school is not expedient." "The design of giving a good education to young men of heathen birth and parentage, in order that they may aid in evangelizing their countrymen, can now be executed more favorably at several Missionary

stations, than at any place in a Christian country."

Although the facts and reasons developed in the course of their investigations left no doubt on the minds of the Committee, as to the proper course to be pursued, "yet," they say, "they do not furnish any occasion to regret the establishment of the school, and the continuance of it to the present time. This seminary was an intermediate cause of the Mission to the Sandwich Islands; and had it been the cause of no other good, this would be matter of joy and exultation through all future ages. But it has done good in many other ways. It was at one period a strong proof to the more intelligent Cherokees and Choctaws, of the benevolent feeling entertained by the whites toward the Indians. It had a powerful tendency to excite kind feelings toward the heathen generally, in the minds of many among ourselves. It gave opportunity for the display of native talent, in a high degree interesting to all friends of human improvement. It attracted the attention of many to Missionary exertions, who would otherwise have remained ignorant of them. And its indirect influence has been salutary in various respects." God has been pleased, in a remarkable manner, to bless this seminary with the influences of his Holy Spirit. Of the heathen youth who have enjoyed its privileges, nearly if not quite half became hopefully pious at Cornwall.

Mr. Mills lived to see this school organized;

and, until the last, continued to take a deep interest in its prosperity, and doubtless to offer up fervent prayers for its success. It has been intimated by some who were acquainted with his plans, that had he been permitted to live, it was his purpose to have accompanied Obookiah on his Mission, and to have lived and died in Hawaii. But "the Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice, let the multitude of isles be glad thereof. Clouds and darkness are round about him; righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne." Obookiah died, in the 26th year of his age, on the 17th of February, 1818, while a member of the Foreign Mission School, greatly beloved by all who knew him, and a splendid instance of the power of grace upon the heart of a heathen.

CHAPTER V.

His Missionary Tours into the western and southern sections of the United States.

It is yet to be shown, that abetting the cause of God abroad, diminishes our zeal for the cause at home. It is a maxim founded on actual experience, that the more you do for the heathen, the more will be done at your own doors. "When once warmed by the animating spirit of Missions, good men will naturally think of the destitute among themselves. When once their selfish stupor is broken, every object within their reach will feel the benign effect." No where are the men to be found who have done half so much at home, as those who have accomplished the most abroad. Never has Britain achieved any thing like so much for the destitute within her own geographical limits, and especially for her Irish neighbors, as since she began to weep over the ignorance, and superstition, and death of Hindostan, China, and Africa. And if we survey the exertions of the American church, where do we find the most

extended, the most judicious, the most persevering, and the most hopeful measures in behalf of the Indians on our own continent, if not among those who have shown the deepest zeal for foreign Missions?

It affords unfeigned pleasure to be enabled to record, that the very individual whom we have seen so indefatigably employed in projecting plans for evangelizing the heathen in distant lands, is the individual to whom all are disposed to yield the palm for his exertions in favor of the destitute on our western frontier.

Mr. Mills completed his theological studies at Andover in the autumn of 1812, and about the same time began to make preparations for a Missionary tour through the western and southern sections of the United States. Very little was known of the reality and extent of the moral desolation of this rising portion of our country, until the "nakedness of the land" was actually surveyed, and the heart-rending report reached the ears of the churches through the instrumentality of this indefatigable Missionary. Such was his impression of the importance of this service, that he performed two separate tours through this part of our country; the first in the years 1812 and 1813; and the last in the years 1814 and 1815. It is not known that the first of these expeditions originated with himself more than with his worthy companion, the Rev. John F. Schermerhorn, of the Dutch Reformed Church. The last, in which he was accompa-

nied by a man of fervent zeal in the Missionary cause, the Rev. Daniel Smith, was of his own projection. Though much commendation belongs to Mr. Smith, for his patient and laborious exertion in accomplishing the objects of this Mission, he is pleased to say, "The plan of the tour, on which I was Mr. Mills's companion, was projected wholly by himself; and if any thing of importance was accomplished by it, the praise, under God, is due to him."

We ought not to pass over this part of Mr. Mills's life, without presenting a brief view of these enterprizes of benevolence. The first tour was performed under the combined direction and patronage of the Connecticut and Massachusetts Missionary Societies. The principal objects of this Mission were to preach the gospel to the destitute—to explore the country, and learn its moral and religious state—and to promote the establishment of Bible Societies, and of other religious and charitable institutions. The report of this Mission, which has been before the public, presents a mass of results of the most interesting kind, and giving a new and important view of that part of the United States which lies west of the Alleghany Mountains;—but the means by which these results were secured—the incessant toil—the deep self-denial—the painful exposures and imminent hazard, they modestly conceal. It was the plan of these gentlemen to take different routes through New York and Pennsylvania;

to form a junction at Marietta in Ohio; to pass through Kentucky and Tennessee, down to New-Orleans; thence across through Mississippi; and on their return, take a course through the western parts of Georgia, Carolinas, and Virginia. Five or six hundred miles of this route was a mere wilderness.

In perusing the private journal kept by Mr. Mills during this tour, I have been led to admire how, in every sentence, his mind was exclusively intent upon the objects of his Mission. On the first page the following subjects of inquiry are entered, as those which he intended to keep steadily in view :—

"Are the people supplied with Bibles and Tracts?

How many Bibles are wanted in a county or a town?

Have supplies of Bibles and Tracts been received in part?

From what Societies may supplies be expected?

The number of regular Clergy in each county.

The number of towns able and willing to support Ministers.

Ascertain, as far as may be, the most hopeful fields for Missionary labor.

Whence did the people originate?

An institution for the benefit of the Africans."

Agreeably to their plan, Messrs. Mills and Schermerhorn met at Marietta about the last of

October; and proceeded on immediately to Cincinnati. "From thence," says Mr. Mills, "Mr. Schermerhorn and myself went down the river Ohio to Laurenceburgh, in the Indiana Territory. Left that place the 24th of November, crossed the Ohio into Kentucky, and came down the river about 50 miles; then again crossed over into Indiana, and came down some miles on that side of the river; then crossed back into Kentucky, and continued our course within 30 mile of the falls of the Ohio, preaching occasionally. We found the inhabitants in a very destitute state; very ignorant of the doctrines of the gospel; and, in many instances, without Bibles, or any other religious books.

"Leaving the river, we proceeded on our way through Frankfort, an easterly course to Lexington, where we arrived December 5th.

"We left Lexington the 14th of December, and proceeded on our way to Nashville, in Tennessee, where we arrived the 28th. On the 29th, rode to Franklin, 20 miles from Nashville, and put up with Mr. Blackburn. During our stay in this part of Tennessee, we consulted with a number of pious people, with regard to the expediency of forming a Bible Society. They decidedly favored the object. Mr. Blackburn thought there would not be time to collect the people, and form a Constitution during our stay. He engaged that he would exert himself in favor of the object, as did others, men of piety and influence.

"We consulted with Mr. Blackburn on the expediency of pursuing our course down the river to New Orleans. He advised us to go, and assisted in making the necessary preparations. It was thought best for us to descend the river. General Jackson was expecting to go in a few days, with about 1500 volunteers to Natchez. Mr. Blackburn introduced us to the General, who, having become acquainted with our design, invited us to take passage on board his boat. We accepted the invitation; and after providing some necessary stores for the voyage, and making sale of our horses, we embarked the 10th of January, 1813. We came to the mouth of the Ohio the 27th, where we lay by three days, on account of the ice. On the 31st we passed New Madrid; and the 16th of February arrived at Natchez.

"We left Natchez the 12th of March, and went on board a flat-bottomed boat, where our accommodations were but indifferent. The weather was generally pleasant, and we arrived at New Orleans the 19th. The distance is 300 miles. For 100 miles above New Orleans, the banks of the river are cleared, and in descending the river you pass many very elegant plantations. The whole of this distance the banks appear like one continued village. The greater part of the inhabitants are French Catholics, ignorant of almost every thing except what relates to the increase of their property; destitute of schools, Bibles, and religious instruction. In

attempting to learn the religious state of these people, we were frequently told, that they had no Bibles, and that the priests did not allow of their distribution among them. An American, who had resided two or three years at a place, which has the appearance of being a flourishing settlement, and which has a Catholic church, informed me that he had not seen a Bible during his stay at the settlement. He added, that he had heard that a woman from the State of New York had lately brought one into the place.

"Soon after our arrival, we introduced the subject of a Bible Society. It directly met the wishes of the religious people with whom we had become acquainted. As we had letters of introduction to Governor Clairborne, we called upon him in company with a friend. The object of our coming to the place was stated to him, and he approved of it. A proposal for a meeting was readily signed by him, and by 12 of the members of the Legislature, who were then in session. About 20 more principally merchants belonging to the city, added their names to the list. At the time appointed for establishing a Society, the greater part of those who subscribed to the proposal met. Previous to the meeting, a constitution had been formed; and was presented for their approbation, should it meet the wishes of those present. The constitution was read and considered, article by article, and adopted. All present appeared much gratified with the opening prospect.

"We found that, in order to have the Bible circulate freely, especially among the Catholics, the consent of those high in office must be obtained. We were frequently told, that the Catholic priests would by no means favor the object. We were referred to Father Antonio, as he is called, who has greater influence with those of his order than even the Bishop, who has lately arrived from Baltimore. If the consent of the former could be obtained, it was allowed by those with whom we conversed, that much might be done towards distributing the scriptures among the French Catholics. We took a convenient opportunity to call upon the reverend father. The subject was mentioned to him. He said he should be pleased to have the Bible circulate among those of his order; and that he would approve of the translation distributed by the *British and Foreign Bible Society*. In addition to this, he said he would aid in the circulation of the scriptures, should an opportunity present. We inquired of him, whether the priests in the different parishes would likewise favor the good work? At this inquiry he seemed surprised, and answered, "How can you doubt it? It is for their interest to circulate the scriptures." Upon this point, our sentiments were hardly in unison. However, we felt no disposition to contradict him. We have since called upon the Bishop. He also gave his consent, and said he would contribute in favor of the infant institution.

This disposition in the Catholic priests to favor the circulation of the scriptures has very much surprised all with whom we have conversed on the subject in the city. The priests acknowledged the nakedness of the land. Father Antonio gave it as his opinion, that we should very rarely find a Bible in any of the French or Spanish Catholic families, in any of the parishes. And the Bishop remarked, that he did not believe there were 10 Bibles in the possession of all the Catholic families in the State; and these families constitute three-fourths of the population of the State, people of color excepted, as is believed by men of information. When we came to this place, we found a number of French Bibles and Testaments had been sent here for distribution gratis; and had been on hand some time. They are now all disposed of, and repeated inquiries are made for those books by the Catholics."

Returning, they left New-Orleans on the 6th of April, and on the 6th of May arrived at Nashville. Some of the hardships sustained on this Mission may be conjectured from a few passages of the journal, on the route from New Orleans to Georgia, a country then almost untrodden, except by the natives of the wilderness.

"*Friday, April* 30. Left Mr. C——'s who is a half-breed, has a very handsome plantation and a good house. We proceeded about fifteen miles, and came to a large creek, which could

not be passed without swimming our horses. We concluded to go up the creek until we could find a log to cross on ourselves, and then carry our baggage across, and then swim our horses. We proceeded some distance up the creek, four or five miles. Having found a place, we got our baggage over, and attempted to swim the horses. The first horse we drove in swam across, and not finding a good place to ascend the opposite bank, returned, floating a little down the stream. The bank was too steep and miry for him to ascend on the side he started from; and after having made a number of useless efforts to ascend, he appeared very weary, and we feared would fail. We were so fortunate as to get near enough to put the bridle on him, and at length succeeded in bringing him ashore. By tying together our bridles, halters, &c. we made them of sufficient length to reach across the creek, the one on the opposite side assisting the horses in ascending the bank. It was sunset when we had the horses safely across the river. It had been raining during the afternoon, and we were very wet. We encamped on a high ridge of ground near the creek, and were so fortunate as to succeed in making a fire in a short time. We here began to dry our clothes, but were very much fatigued. Our way, after we left our trace where we crossed the creek, was very bad, without any path at all. Some of the time we were ascending and descending ledges almost perpendicular. A part of the

time we were passing through swamps, very miry; and some of the time we had to contend with cane-brakes, which could not be penetrated but by cutting our way with our hatchet. In the evening the rain abated, and we had a pretty comfortable night.

"*May* 1. To-day we crossed another creek, and ate the last of our bread.

"*Monday, May* 3. It rained very hard. Our tent-cloth so wet, that it afforded us a poor shelter from the storm. Our provisions very low, and we allow ourselves to eat but half a meal. In the evening heard an Indian whoop, which made us believe we were near the habitations of some of these rude sons of nature. Dried our blankets, and rested tolerably well."

As Mr. Mills was not to be moved from his course by difficulties and discouragements; so he was not, by bright prospects and pressing invitations. In many places which he visited, he "beheld the germs of future cities." And of villages, that then "contained nothing but wretched cabins," he could say, they "will soon become the dwelling-place of thousands; and those thousands may all be favorably affected by the early establishment of religious institutions." In these places he had many dear friends, and had visited many infant churches. Under such circumstances, we are not surprised that he should receive pressing invitations to settle in that part of our country. In answer

to a communication of this sort, he writes, "But, brother W., none of these things move me. Still, if I know my own heart, I think, whenever it shall appear the will of God, that I should take up my residence in New Connecticut, I shall wish to join in your labors. Go on, brother W , gather the lambs into the fold of the Great Shepherd; and when he shall appear, may you receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away. You say, 'that there is opportunity enough in New Connecticut, for the exercise of self-denial.' I am no Papist. I never held to the propriety of doing penance, either to atone for my own sins, or those of others. You say, 'there is an ample field for the exercise of benevolence in New Connecticut.' My dear brother, you must not always judge others by yourself. I tell you, at once, the field is not large enough for me. I intend, God willing, the little influence I have, shall be felt in every State in the Union; and I should be very sorry to have it confined either by the Lakes, or the Gulph of Mexico, the Atlantic, or the Mississippi.

On the last of these Missions, Mr. Mills left Boston in July, 1814—went on to Connecticut, where he found the Rev. Mr. Smith, and engaged him to be his companion on the tour. The Massachusetts Missionary Society gave the first and principal patronage to this Mission. Having obtained considerable assistance from

the Philadelphia Bible Society, and the Philadelphia Missionary Society, and equipt with a large quantity of Bibles and Tracts, they proceeded on their journey, followed by the prayers of many of the friends of Zion. In the interior of the State of Pennsylvania, they found extensive tracts of country, and especially the valleys between the Alleghany Mountains, exceedingly destitute of religious privileges. Throughout the country north of the Ohio river, there was a lamentable want both of Bibles and Missionaries. To supply the former, they became instrumental in the formation of Bible Societies in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri; and to supply the latter, could do little more, while on their tour, than faithfully ascertain and point out the most important fields of Missionary labor. Of all these territories, they have said to the churches, "We have travelled through them; have seen the nakedness of the land; and our eyes have affected our hearts. We have heard the cry, Come over and help us. Would that all Christians at the east would lift up their eyes and behold. Could they but see what we have seen—thousands ready to perish, their eyelids fast closed in spiritual slumber, and none to awake them—could they but see the sons and daughters of Jerusalem weeping for themselves and their children; surely ministers would no longer be wanting, nor funds for their support." Speaking of the State of Louisiana, they say, "*There are American families in this*

part of our country, who never saw a Bible, nor heard of Jesus Christ. It is a fact that ought not to be forgotten, that so lately as March, 1815, a Bible in any language could not be found, for sale, or to be given away, in New Orleans.

On this second visit to New Orleans, Mr. Mills pursued nearly the same route, and exhibited the same indefatigable zeal and effort as on the first. He arrived at New Orleans shortly after the celebrated battle of the 8th of January, 1815. The friends of religion in that place, as well as Mr. Mills's patrons at the North, have ever considered it a "kind and very unusual providence, that *such* a man should have been sent there at *such a time.*" It adds new lustre to his benevolence to see him like an angel of mercy, visiting the abodes of blood and carnage, and with so much zeal doing what he could to alleviate the sorrows and miseries of *war*. Some circumstances attending these efforts we shall present from his private journal.

"*Feb.* 10, 1815. This morning I called upon Esq. Hennan; and concluded, at his request, to take lodgings with him for the present. I called in company with Mr. H. at the public prison: there are three hundred English soldiers in the prison. A number of Bibles had some time since been distributed among them, by one of the managers of the Society. We found many of them reading, with great attention and

seriousness, the copies which had been furnished them. We gave them some additional supply. They received the Bibles with evident expressions of joy and gratitude. We distributed among them likewise a number of religious Tracts and Sermons. They returned many thanks for them. More or less of the soldiers are, it is said, apparently pious men. They informed us, that many of them were furnished with Bibles or Testaments, but left them on board the fleet. In the course of the same day, we called upon Dr. Dow. He informed us, that he had furnished some of the prisoners with a number of Watts's Psalms, and some other religious books.

"The succeeding day, I called at the United States Hospital, in company with Esq. Nicholson. There are three hundred men sick and wounded in the hospital; one hundred and eighty are English prisoners. Upon examining the several wards, we found that some of the prisoners had brought their Bibles from the fleet; but this was rarely the case. A number of the sick and wounded, both English and Americans, expressed an earnest desire to be possessed of the sacred scriptures. Called at the Navy Hospital, containing about forty sick. There was not a Bible among them, as we could learn; but more or less will thankfully receive them. We called at three different places, where a part of the sick soldiers belonging to the Kentucky detachment are quartered. The

whole number of sick at these houses is one hundred and twenty. Many of them received the information with great satisfaction, when informed that some of them could be furnished with Bibles: this was manifest, from their countenances, and from the numerous applications which were made for this blessed book. In one of the houses we found a number of the sick lying on the floor. One was reading from a New Testament to those around him. They had not a Bible in the house.

"15*th*. I have ascertained that there are a considerable number of the troops belonging to the militia of this State, who are sick in hospitals, on the opposite side of the river. It is the impression of many who go to the hospitals, that they shall die in them. This impression perhaps hastens their dissolution, in some instances.

"22*d*. I crossed the river to-day, and visited the sick soldiers in the barracks. In two rooms there were near one hundred sick. It is truly affecting to visit these abodes of disease and death. The sick have not generally beds or mattresses. With medical aid they are tolerably well furnished: still no doubt many of them suffer much for the want of proper attendance. In some instances, when I have been attending the sick in one room, I could hear those in the room adjacent crying out, with great earnestness, Lord, have mercy on us!—Jesus Christ, have mercy on us! I informed those I visited

that there were some Bibles on hand, to be given to the sick and the destitute. There were many applications for them. During my stay at the barracks, I was at six or eight of the rooms: there was not a Bible to be found in any of them. I have found unusual freedom in speaking to the sick and the dying, in the hospitals. They almost uniformly give very strict attention to what is said; and their tears witness for them that they do not remain unaffected. God only knows how lasting their serious impressions may be: but from what I have seen and heard in the hospitals, I am inclined to believe that some of the sufferers have been born again, even on the threshold of the grave. Many of the troops, after their arrival in the vicinity of this place, were subjected to great fatigue while defending the lines. Many of them were standing or lying, for some successive days and nights, in the low marshy ground, where the water was near a foot deep. The weather some of the time was so cold as to freeze ice a quarter of an inch in thickness. Some of the soldiers at this time were but poorly clothed. Three or four physicians, from Kentucky and Tennessee, have died but a short time since.

"27*th*. This morning, I crossed the river to visit the sick in the barracks. Dr. G. introduced me to one of the sick under his care. He wished me to converse with him. The sick man professed to hope that he was made a subject of

the renewing grace of God about three years since. He readily acknowledged his lost and ruined state by nature, and professed his confidence in Jesus Christ, as the great atoning sacrifice. He remarked, that he had no fears of death. He said he felt happy to be in the hands of a good and merciful God, and was willing to be at his disposal. He professed the fullest confidence in the rectitude of the divine government, and would endeavor to trust in the Lord. He added, that he had an aged and infirm mother, who looked to him for support and consolation; and if it should please Heaven, he could wish to recover, in hopes of relieving her sorrows, as she descended into the vale of years. After conversing with the sick man, I addressed those present. A number came in from the adjoining rooms. We sang, and closed with prayer. The season was a very solemn one:—many were in tears.

"*March* 1*st*. To-day I crossed the river, to visit the sick. During my stay, preached to more than 200 of the soldiers, who were able to assemble. The meeting was a solemn and interesting one.

"One of the chaplains belonging to the Tennessee detachment informed me lately, that most of the intemperate men from that State had died since they came here: his expression was, the hard drinkers are nearly all gone.

"11*th*. This morning I rode down to the Kentucky camp: the Generals Adair and Thomas

accompanied me. I had made a previous appointment to preach at the camp at ten o'clock, A. M. The notice had been given to the soldiers, and arrangements made. The place for preaching was in the open field. A platform was prepared for the speaker to stand on, raised six or eight feet from the ground. A large congregation was collected in a short time. As many as eight hundred or a thousand soldiers were present. They behaved with great propriety during the service—were solemn and attentive."

On this mission, Mr. Mills was particularly intrusted, by the Philadelphia Bible Society, with the distribution of a quantity of French Bibles. The manner in which this trust was discharged, and the Testaments received by the Roman Catholics in New Orleans and its vicinity, we shall present by an extract from his Report to the Philadelphia Society.

"As has already been stated, I reached New Orleans on the tenth of February. I soon ascertained that the 3000 copies of the Testament, directed to the care of the managers of the Louisiana Bible Society, had been received. But none of them had at that time been offered to the people. A few copies were given out on the day I arrived in the place. The succeeding day an additional number was distributed.

"The day following, February 12th, the

number of the destitute who made application for a supply very much increased. From nine o'clock, A. M. to one, P. M. the door of the distributor was thronged with from fifty to one hundred persons. Those who applied were of all ages and of all colors. They were literally clamorous in their solicitations for the sacred book. For some successive days the applicants became still more numerous. In a week after the distribution of the Testaments commenced, one thousand copies were given out. Some of those who requested a supply came prepared to purchase them. They remarked to the distributor, that they must have a supply by some means. The Principal of the College, and a number of the instructors of the public schools in the city, presented written statements, containing a list of the scholars under their care, who would make a profitable use of the Testaments, could the charity be extended to them. These statements were respectfully addressed to the distributor, with a request that as many of the scholars might be supplied as was consistent with the views of the managers of the society. Their solicitations were, in most cases, complied with.

"Pere Antonio, a leading character in the Roman Catholic church in the city, very readily aided in the circulation of the Testaments among his people. Some more than two years ago, the Rev. Father engaged to assist in the distribution of French Bibles and Testaments. Soon after I arrived in the city, I called upon

him, in company with Mr. Hennan. We informed him that the Testaments had been received from the managers of the Philadelphia Bible Society, and presented him with a number of copies. He expressed great satisfaction, and repeatedly invoked the blessing of God on the donors. He observed, that God would certainly bless the generous, pious men, who had exerted themselves to give to the destitute his holy word. He expressed his desire to obtain an additional number of copies, and engaged that he would make the most judicious distribution of them in his power. He remarked, that he would give them to those persons who would be sure to read them through.

"Soon after the distribution of the Testaments commenced, Mr. Hennan called upon Mr. Du Bourg, the administrator of the bishopric, and informed him that the Testaments, printed by the managers of the Philadelphia Bible Society, had been received; and that some copies had been given to the people. The bishop observed, that he had been made acquainted with the circumstance by some of his people, who had called upon him to ascertain, whether he would advise them to receive the Testaments. He added, that as they were not of the version authorized by the Catholic church, he could not aid in the distribution of them. When the distribution of the Testaments in the convent was suggested, the bishop remarked, that the parents of the children who received instruction at that

place were at liberty to furnish them if they thought best. I had myself an interview with the bishop: during our conversation, he expressed to me his regret that the Roman Catholic version of the Testament, printed in Boston in 1810, had not been followed, rather than the version printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. He observed, however, that he should prefer to have the present version of the Testament in the possession of the people, rather than have them remain entirely ignorant of the sacred scriptures. I here state one or two incidents which occurred, as related by the bishop, connected with the circulation of the Testaments:—A poor woman of his flock called on him, and, handing him one of the Testaments, apparently with great anxiety, addressed him in the following manner: Good Father, what book is this? The bishop looking at it, replied, Why, my child, it is the history of the Evangelists—it is the gospel. I know that, replied the woman; but is it a book you would recommend to your people? Said the bishop, It is a Protestant version; it is as Calvin would have translated it. Good Father, replied the woman, keep the book! keep the book! My child, answered the bishop, you may retain the book, if you please. Read it with care; and should you find any thing contrary to the Catholic faith, you will bear in mind that it is a Protestant version.

"Miss J. one of the Nuns, called upon the

bishop somewhat agitated. She had been reading the Testament. Her mind was perplexed by the expression, in the summary of the first chapter of the First Epistle of St. John: 'Et la confession de nos peches a Dieu;' *and the confession of our sins to God.* She had been taught, that the confession of our sins was to be made to the priest; or rather, to God, as the Roman Catholics say, through or by the priest. She inquired what could be intended by the expression, *confession of our sins to God.* He informed her that the translation was a Protestant one, and that the expression she referred to was prefixed to the chapter by the translator. The bishop remarked to me that he thought it not proper, that any explanations of the contents of the chapters should be prefixed to either Bibles or Testaments designed for circulation among the Roman Catholics.

"As early as the first of March, fifteen or sixteen hundred copies of the Testaments had been given out. Many of those who applied for them were very earnest in their requests. Some of them said, that they came in from the country, and could not be denied; and some of them, that they had made repeated applications, without success. Some wished the Testaments for themselves; some for a son or a daughter; and some were anxious to obtain a copy for each of their children. It was frequently the case, that numbers would remain a considerable time at the door of the distributor, after notice was

given that no more Testaments would be given out until the succeeding day. Many applications were made by people of color. We found that a much greater proportion of them, both old and young, could read intelligibly, than has generally been supposed.

"Soon after my arrival at New Orleans, I had some conversation with a respectable planter, a Roman Catholic, respecting the circulation of the Testaments. He remarked to me, that he did not think a good Catholic had any occasion to read the Bible. Before I left that place, I ascertained that he had perused some portions of the Testament; and he informed a friend of his, that what he had read excited in his mind many reflections. A woman and her daughter came in from the Bayou St. John, two miles from the city. She informed the distributor, that she had heard that there were Bibles and Testaments to be given to the destitute, and that she was hardly disposed to credit the report. She concluded, however, she would '*Come and see.*'"

On Mr. Mills's return from this tour, it very naturally became an object of desire with him to turn the attention of the Atlantic States to that destitute region. Before his return to New England, he took pains to have an interview with the managers of the Baltimore and Philadelphia Societies, and to give them a full view of the real condition of these portions of our

country. The same representation was also made in substance to the Connecticut Bible Society, as well as to the Society who were the immediate patrons of the enterprize. In consequence of this, the Baltimore and Philadelphia Societies came to a resolution immediately to set on foot measures to supply the Southern and Western country with Bibles; and the Connecticut Bible Society promptly voted five hundred Bibles to the sister Society in Louisiana, for gratuitous distribution, wherever they were in the greatest demand; and the whole country received a new impulse in favor of Domestic Missions.

We cannot finish the narrative of this Mission more acceptably than in the closing paragraph of Messrs. Mills and Smith's Report:—

"We have now given a brief account of our tour—of our exertions, and of the success with which the Lord has been pleased to favor us, in advancing the kingdom of our Redeemer. We have presented some sketches of the moral and religious state of the country, through which we have passed. In reviewing the whole, we feel compelled to call upon our own souls, and to call upon the patrons of the Mission, to bless the Lord. Surely goodness and mercy have followed us all the way. On a journey of more than six thousand miles, and passing through a great variety of climates—in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils on the rivers, and in perils on the sea—the

Lord has preserved us.—Neither can we forbear to express our obligations to our dear Christian friends in the Western country. We were strangers, and they took us in. From many we received pecuniary aid, besides other important services; while the kind attentions and Christian fellowship of others alleviated our labors and comforted our hearts.

"In return for these favors, we have felt compelled to do what we could for them. Ever since we came back to this land of Christian privileges, we have been endeavoring to arouse the attention of the public, and to direct it towards the west. These exertions have been stimulated by a deep conviction of the deplorable state of that country. Never will the impression be erased from our hearts, that has been made by beholding those scenes of wide-spreading desolation. The whole country, from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico, is as the valley of the shadow of death. Darkness rests upon it. Only here and there, a few rays of gospel light pierce through the awful gloom. This vast country contains more than a million of inhabitants. Their number is every year increased, by a mighty flood of emigration. Soon they will be as the sands on the sea-shore for multitude. Yet there are at present only a little more than one hundred Presbyterian or Congregational ministers in it. Were these ministers equally distributed throughout the country, there would be only one to every ten

thousand people. But now there are districts of country, containing from twenty to fifty thousand inhabitants, entirely destitute. *And how shall they hear without a preacher?*

"From the estimates made, it appears that *seventy-six thousand families* are destitute of the sacred volume, in this portion of our country. These estimates are not ungrounded and exaggerated conjectures. They are the result of much inquiry and patient examination. It is our sober conviction, that at least 76,000 Bibles are necessary for the supply of the destitute; and the number is every year increasing. Most of those who emigrate from the older States are poor. There are many young men who go into that country, and are married afterwards—and never have an opportunity of supplying their families with Bibles. The number of Bibles sent there by all the Societies in the United States, is by no means as great as the yearly increase of the destitute. The original number still remains unsupplied. When we entered on the Mission, we applied in person to the oldest and wealthiest of these institutions for Bibles to distribute in the western country; but we could only obtain one solitary donation. The existing Societies have not yet been able to supply the demand, in their own immediate vicinity. Some mightier effort must be made. Their scattered and feeble exertions are by no means adequate to the accomplishment of the object. It is thought by judicious people, that *half a*

million of Bibles are necessary for the supply of the destitute in the United States. It is a foul blot on our national character. Christian America must arise and wipe it away. The existing Societies are not able to do it. They want union;—they want co-operation;—they want resources. If a National Institution cannot be formed, application ought to be made to the British and Foreign Bible Society for aid."

The beneficial results of these two Missionary tours can never be duly appreciated. By these means, the whole extent of our western and southern territory was explored, and an accurate disclosure of its moral and spiritual desolation made to the churches;—a new and mighty impulse was given to the whole system of domestic benevolence;—Bible Societies were immediately established in the different western and southern States, and the good work still goes on;—thousands of religious tracts have gone, and are now going, the winged messengers of salvation, into every section of the country;—the gospel of the grace of God was preached to a vast multitude of the dwellers in the wilderness;—no less than ten or twelve Missionaries were sent among them, the very first year after the information of their wants was circulated, and more the second, and still more the third, and so forth, until, in May, 1826, the American Home Missionary Society arose, which has already "extended aid to between six and seven hundred different congregations and Missionary

districts, in twenty two States and territories." And thus, in defiance of its obstinate and long-continued barrenness, our own wilderness begins to blossom like the rose.

CHAPTER VI.

His instrumentality in bringing forward the American Bible Society, and the United Foreign Missionary Society.

Soon after his return from his last tour through the western and southern country, Mr. Mills received ordination, as minister of the gospel, in company with several Missionary brethren, at Newburyport, Massachusetts, on the twenty first day of June, 1815. He then left New England, and took up his residence in the middle States, and within the bounds of the Presbyterian church. Here he spent two of the most profitable years of his life, unobserved, and almost unknown, yet silently exercising an influence, and setting in motion several illustrious plans of mercy to mankind. He resided alternately in Albany, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, and Washington; and his attention was here principally occupied in consulting with men of influence among the clergy and laity, as to the wisdom and practicability of several of his unaccomplished purposes.

Among these was the establishment of a National Bible Society. We have no warrant to

say, that the idea of a National Bible Society first originated with Mr. Mills. As early as the year 1810, a proposition for a national institution was submitted to the New York Bible Society, by the Rev. Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, accompanied by some very flattering overtures, in the event of carrying the proposition into effect. Essentially the same proposition was also made to the Philadelphia Bible Society. To this proposition the Directors of both these Societies returned a full and decided negative. And it is but justice to say, that long after this intimation was laid to rest, the plan of the existing American Bible Society originated in the bosom of Mr. Mills.

At the close of the report of the southern and western tour, we find the sentiment :—"If a *national institution cannot be formed*, application in behalf of these destitute ought to be made to the British and Foreign Bible Society for aid." The formation of this national institution Mr. Mills thought of, and suggested, and pressed the suggestion, long before it probably entered into the mind of any other individual. With the gentlemen who were interested in the early stages of this measure, he had frequent interviews; and though he concealed the hand that moved it forward, was himself the principal mover of the design, and a principal agent in inducing others of greater weight of character to become its abettors. The writer well recollects the efforts of this persevering man to at-

tain this important object. With some hope that the measure might be brought forward by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, in 1814 he procured a consultation of his fathers and brethren in the ministry as to the expediency of setting the plan on foot at that meeting. Though the writer was not himself interested in the consultation, he had the honor to be a member of the Assembly that year, and is personally acquainted with the individuals with whom his friend did consult, as well as with the result of the consultation. It was then thought to be the best advised course, that, for the sake of avoiding every thing like a sectarian influence and form, and embodying the mass of Christian effort of all denominations, the measure should originate with no one ecclesiastical body, but with some one of the State Bible Societies, who could give it currency with the least suspicion of local or party views. It was on the rising of the Assembly that year, that a respectable member of that body, to whom Mr. Mills had intimated the design, on his return from Philadelphia to Boston, had an interview with the venerable man by whose industry and vigilance the proposition was at length submitted to the different Bible Societies, and by whose intelligent piety and princely munificence, so early and powerful an impulse was given to this magnificent institution. It was at this interview the foundation of this lofty edifice was laid; and if it has inscri-

bed on one side the endeared and memorable name of ELIAS BOUDINOT, it has on the other the humble inscription of *Samuel J. Mills.*

The following letter will be regarded as additional evidence of the part which Mr. Mills took in originating this Society. In a communication to the writer, Mr. Smith, his companion on the second southern tour, remarks, "Having been associated with Mr. Mills in one of his most important undertakings, and having been his constant and confidential companion for the greater part of a year, amid a great variety of labors, dangers, and trials; at a period too when nearly all his grand schemes of benevolence were in a train of accomplishment, I have enjoyed some important advantages for understanding his very peculiar and interesting character. An important matter that occupied much of the attention of our lamented brother, was the formation of the American Bible Society. It was on his mind for years before it was formed. Indeed, he once gave me distinctly to understand that it originated with him. At a very early period, he procured a friend to write one or more essays upon the subject, which were published. He carried the plan with him on both his Missionary tours to the south and west, and exerted his influence in favor of the contemplated institution."

Mr. Mills continued to take a deep interest in the formation of the Bible Society, and to use all his exertions with his friends in favor of

it, until the very day arrived on which it was organized. It was on the 8th day of May, 1816, a day long to be remembered in the annals of the American people. A convention of delegates from different Bible Societies in the United States, having been invited to assemble on that day in the city of New York, "resolved unanimously, that it is expedient to establish, without delay, a General Bible Institution, for the circulation of the holy scriptures, without note or comment." This convention did not close their sessions till they had prepared and adopted the Constitution and elected the managers of the society, and issued an address to the people of the United States, giving information of the existence of the institution, and inviting their co-operation in the benevolent and exalted cause. It is hardly necessary to remark, that this was a day to which Mr. Mills looked forward with the deepest interest. Of course, he was present at the meeting. And when the discussions had proceeded so far that it was no longer doubtful that a union of different denominations would be formed in this stupendous work of charity, then you might have seen him, elevated on a distant seat behind the crowd, contemplating the scene with a look of divine delight, which it would require the pencil of a West or a Raphael to delineate. That countenance was observed at the moment; and it left an impression which will probably be retained among the last traces of memory.

Though many doubting apprehensions were entertained by the warmest friends of this measure, yet the noble spirit of Christian feeling and unanimity, which pervaded the minds of all present, gave energy and success to their subsequent operations. The resources and usefulness of this Society have been constantly increasing. Its twelfth anniversary, celebrated in May, 1829, was attended with circumstances of deep and general interest. A resolution was passed which cheers the Christian patriot, not only when he looks upon the future destiny of this country, but also when he reflects upon the influence which he has reason to believe the example of such a measure will spread over the world. The resolution is the following, which, after an animated and interesting discussion, was unanimously adopted:—"That this Society, with a humble reliance on divine aid, will endeavor to supply all the destitute families of the United States with the holy scriptures, that may be willing to purchase or receive them, within the space of two years, provided means be furnished by its auxiliaries and benevolent individuals in season to enable the Board of Managers to carry this resolution into effect." Thus, with the blessing of Him whose word has brought life and immortality to life, ten or fifteen hundred thousand copies of the holy scriptures will be scattered over this extensive nation. In the formation of this society, Mr. Mills seemed to be

urged on to his labors by a presentiment of the results it was destined to accomplish.

It was long an object of earnest solicitude with Mr. Mills, to see the spirit of missions excited throughout the Presbyterian church. Though the General Assembly have, from the formation of that venerable body, been engaged in the pious and benevolent work of sending the gospel to the destitute in the new settlements; and though the Missionary concerns of this portion of the Christian church have been gradually increasing in extent and importance, and proved highly beneficial to the Presbyterian interest, and greatly instrumental in promoting the common cause of Christianity;—yet we have done comparatively little in the great cause of Missions. Though we started in the race early, other denominations, on this, as well as on the other side of the Atlantic, have run far before us. It is time the painful fact were considered and bewailed, that, too intent upon local interests, we have as yet caught little of the spirit which animates our brethren of other denominations, and burns with zeal to shed the light of salvation through the region and shadow of death.

This Mr. Mills saw and lamented. Perceiving the Presbyterian church to cover so vast a territory, and to possess so large a share of the property of the whole country; acquainted as he was with the evangelical spirit of her ministers, and the frequent outpourings of the Holy Spirit

upon her congregations; he had a powerful conviction, that little else was necessary than to awaken her attention and combine her energies. While this subject was revolving in his thoughts, he was residing at Newark, in New Jersey, under the roof of one with whom he was acquainted in his youth, who was his father's friend, and whom he always viewed as a father and a confidant. Here he matured the plan which eventuated in the union of the three churches, involving the Presbyterians of the General Assembly, the Dutch Reformed, and the Associate Reformed, in that catholic and truly Christian institution, "THE UNITED FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY."

In a communication to his father, dated New York, May, 1816, he writes, "I have expected to visit you this season, but I have lately concluded to attend the sittings of the General Assembly at Philadelphia. As yet, I am not determined with respect to the course I shall pursue for the summer. I have under consideration some plans, one at least of importance, which will be probably presented to the Assembly:—I mean, the formation of a Foreign Missionary Society in the Presbyterian connexion. Dr. G—— thinks it important I should aid the object, by using what influence I may have with gentlemen who will be present at Philadelphia."

Mr. Mills attended the Assembly, and in a subsequent communication to the same person, he says, "I have spent a part of my time in

Philadelphia, and a part in New York. The Presbyterian church, it is well known, have heretofore, as a church, made no exertions to send Missionaries out of the limits of the States. I have for a long time thought it desirable that their attention should be directed to the subject of Foreign Missions; not only with the view of sending the gospel to the destitute abroad, but in hope that exertion of this kind might excite more zeal for the diffusion of religious knowledge in our own country. I conceive the object is secured. The General Assembly, at their last session, chose a committee of seven members to consult with the Dutch and Scotch churches, and ascertain whether they would not unite with the Presbyterian church in the formation of a Foreign Missionary Society. The committees of the Dutch and Scotch are also appointed, and I think the prospect in favor of the union. I conceive there is no doubt the Presbyterian church will move forward in this business. Dr. G—— and Dr. R—— are on the committee, and very much in favor of the object. The formation of a Foreign Missionary Society in these churches, will be esteemed one of the grandest objects which has ever been effected within their limits. I would not intimate that I have been the prime mover in this business: if I have been permitted, with others, to aid the object, it is enough." Notwithstanding this modest reserve, next to the Spirit of God upon his heart, Mr. Mills *was* the "prime

mover in this business;" and he had the satisfaction to see the three divisions of the Presbyterian interest in our country united with perfect harmony, and under the sanction of their highest judicatories, in the blessed work of evangelizing the globe.

The United Foreign Missionary Society, having despatched two agents on an exploring tour to the West, determined, upon the information thus collected, to establish, without delay, a Mission among the Osages of the Arkansas Territory. In the Spring of 1820, the first Missionaries for that tribe, left New York on their benevolent enterprize. The expedition was soon followed by others to other tribes; and, in the Ninth Report of the Society for the year 1826, we find there were under its care ten Missionary stations, with seven ordained Missionaries, and fifty native assistants; all of whom were employed among the descendants of the native possessors of this country, except a single Missionary, and an assistant, who were laboring in Hayti, among the colored people, who have lately removed thither from the United States.—This was the last report of the society. Proposals having been made to amalgamate this Society with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in order that the great object for which both were instituted might be more efficiently prosecuted; and consultations having been held, the union of the two Societies was consummated in 1826, when

all the concerns of the United Foreign Missionary Society were transferred to the American Board.

While upon this part of Mr. Mills's history, in justice to his memory, as well as to the cause he loved, there ought to be brought into view one project, that he did not accomplish: I mean a tour into South America, with a view to explore the country, and prepare the way for Missionary enterprize in that interesting part of the world. It was his own opinion that the United Foreign Missionary Society would eventually set on foot a measure of this sort. On the practicability and probable utility of such a mission, he collected, at different times, much important information. He used many efforts to engage others in this work; and expressed his determination to enter upon it himself. Indeed, he once made overtures of this nature to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The plan of such a tour was once in a very considerable degree matured. He alludes to it in the following letter to Mr. E—— C——, a beloved brother in the Ministry:—

"*New-York, 3d October*, 1816.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am happy in having an opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your interesting letter, dated Hartford, Sept. 19. It appears to me, that the gentlemen appointed to direct the concerns of the Hawaiian youth, are competent to manage that business, without instructions from

the Board of Commissioners. But no doubt it is best as it is.

"I thank you for suggesting the expediency of an exploring Mission to the Rev. Fathers at Hartford, and am happy to hear that they approve of the object. I have long thought, that to effect what we wish in the best manner, it would be desirable to sail in a ship commanded by officers who should have the business of exploring and ascertaining the best Missionary stations particularly in view during the voyage. But perhaps such an opportunity ought not to be expected. But I confess I am tired of delays. I have for some time past been endeavoring to pass the limits of these States and territories. I am 'pestered in this pin-hole here.'

"Thus far my experience proves, that the further I proceed from home, the greater good God enables me to do. By his blessing, most has been effected at the most distant points. I do not know that a similar result would follow on the Mission we contemplate; but I should like to try it, and alone, if it seems the will of Heaven. I hope you will lose no time in making the inquiries necessary to ascertain whether a passage could be obtained on board the ship which you refer to in your letter. I should wish to know the character of the commodore, or captain; and if a chaplain is wanted, what would be the services expected from one acting in that capacity? I shall wish to know at what places the ship will touch during the voyage;

and I should particularly wish you to give me the opinion of my Christian friends in the vicinity of Boston, relative to my qualifications for the contemplated service. You will have opportunity to see the gentlemen belonging to the Prudential Committee of the Board of Foreign Missions, and I hope you will converse with them on this subject. Were I to engage in this service, I should hope a brother might be found who would go with me. Perhaps the Lord will incline you to engage in this work.

"It is expected that the ship Eagle, commanded by Captain Davis, will sail from Boston, in a few weeks, for the Northwest Coast. The ship will call at the Sandwich Islands during the voyage; but there are objections to going in one engaged in the Northwest trade. Still a list of inquiries might be presented, requesting particular information with respect to the state of the islands, and other places where the ship should call. I hope this hint will be kept in mind.

"My dear brother, should I leave this country, and you remain here, you must supply my place, or find some person who will. I cannot leave the benevolent plans I have in view, without some one to see them perfected.

"Yours affectionately,

"SAMUEL J. MILLS."

It is to be regretted that this enterprize was not carried into immediate execution. None can tell the important results that might have

been connected with it, in giving form and features to the new Republics, that have since sprung into being in Spanish America. The abandonment of the project, however, was not final. Seven years elapsed after Mr. Mills had matured the plan, when the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, engaged the services of two gentlemen, one of whom, Mr. Brigham, crossed the southern part of South America, explored its western shore; visited Mexico, and brought home a mass of facts, which have awakened a deep and increasing interest in behalf of that country. But here and there a single ray of religious liberty is permitted to shine through the dark cloud of Catholic despotism, which, at the present time, notwithstanding the political revolutions, almost universally overspreads the land. This vast country presents a most inviting field for Missionary labor, and "who on earth, rather than ourselves, are the people to pour the river of life through that desolate region?"

Whatever may be the obstacles to such a Mission, they are no more than have been surmounted in other portions of the earth. What has been accomplished in South America by the United Brethren, forms no criterion by which to judge of the success of Missionary efforts in the present age of the world, and present condition of that community. The trials which they experienced are not to be looked for again: the scenes of Berbice, Surinam, Bambay, and Par-

rimaribo, will never probably be acted over again while the world stands. Let it not be forgotten that the question, whether South America shall be free, is to be determined by the question whether she is to be Christian? Liberty without godliness, is but another name for anarchy or despotism. Let philosophers and statesmen argue as they please—the religion of the gospel is the rock on which civil liberty rests. You have never known a people free without the Bible; with it, they cannot long be slaves. Let not the American churches forget, that more than one quarter of the circumference of the globe lying immediately under their eye, is little else than an extended dungeon, where forty millions of immortal beings are in the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity.

CHAPTER VII.

His residence in New-York, and his exertions in behalf of the Poor and Ignorant in that city.

Few men knew better how to gather up the fragments of time than Mr. Mills. "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" appeared incessantly to be his motto. He was seldom at a loss to know how to "fill up life well;" and it was no difficult task to a mind like his, to create opportunities of usefulness, where he did not find them ready to his hand. While some of his plans were ripening for execution, he spent the summer and autumn of 1816, in the city of New York, where he devoted himself to inquiries into the moral condition of the poor, with a particular view to supply them with Bibles and tracts.

The true condition of our large cities, in respect of moral instruction, it is lamentable to state, has been little thought of, even by those who, in other departments of duty, manifest a commendable zeal in promoting the best interests of their fellow-men. This "New Missionary Field," as it has been justly styled, discloses a picture of pollution and misery

which we little expected to behold. From an interesting document, published in 1817, it appears, that not less than 60,000 persons in the city of New York, 18,000 in the city of Boston, upwards of 50,000 in the city of Philadelphia, between 30 and 40,000 in Baltimore, and upwards of 10,000 in Charleston, are wretchedly destitute of the privileges of the gospel, and in a state of sottish ignorance and deep impiety. Upwards of 700,000 also in London, and 80,000 in Liverpool, are in the same deplorable ignorance; "while in Great Britain and on the continent, most other cities are in no better, and many of them are in a much worse condition." What must be thought of that community, where, in one section, "out of twenty families adjoining each other, sixteen are destitute of the Bible; in another, out of one hundred and fifteen families adjoining each other, seventy are destitute; in another, out of thirty-two, twenty-one are destitute; and in another, out of thirty, twenty-seven are destitute"—and that in this Christian land? Little do we know what heathenism is to be found in our most enlightened and privileged cities. Corroborative of these remarks, and as indicative of the extent and success of Mr. Mills's efforts for the relief of this class of people, a few facts will be presented from his own journal:—

"*June* 20. Mr. S—— and myself called at a house on Manhattan Island. The first person we saw was a married woman, about 30

years of age. After a few introductory observations, we inquired of her whether she had a Bible in her family. 'A Bible,' said she, with an expression of some surprise, 'what do you do with the Bible?' We told her that the Bible was the word of the living God, and ought to be attentively perused by every one; that we all needed its instructions, and the consolations which its doctrines and precepts were able to give, when received in the love of them. Her countenance soon became more solemn, and she listened attentively to the serious admonition which was given her. We gave her a religious Tract, and addressed ourselves to another woman who came in. She was 35 or 40 years of age. She appeared a sensible woman, and we had reason to hope before we left the house that she was a pious person. She informed us, that she had entertained a hope that she was a Christian for more than twelve years. Her circumstances had been such, that she had not made a public profession of religion, though she had often wished for the privilege of doing so. It appeared that the reason of her delaying this duty, had been owing principally to the want of evidence with respect to her good estate. Her attachments were in favor of the Presbyterian church. The greater part of the time we were conversing with this woman, there was present a young lady, who appeared very solemn. We entered into conversation with her, and found that for some months past she had been the

subject of very serious impressions, and still continued so. She spoke of her guilt as very great, and expressed her fears that there was no mercy for her. She had lately come to the island, from a place in Connecticut, where there had been a revival of religion. Her case excited in us a peculiar interest. We addressed her as we thought was proper to address one, whose mind was awakened to serious concern by the influences of the Holy Spirit. After we left the house, we remarked to each other on the variety in the characters of those who resided under the same roof.

"It seemed that the woman with whom we first conversed, had been entirely neglectful of the concerns of her soul, and chose to continue in that state.

"The second expressed a humble hope that she had been born again, and that she belonged to Christ.

"The third seemed to feel herself a guilty condemned sinner, and feared lest she had sinned away the day of grace, and must perish forever.

"Visited another family. The woman professed to belong to the Methodist church. She said that her husband once belonged to the same connexion, but did not at that time belong to any church. While we were conversing seriously with the woman, her husband came in. Some observations of a religious nature were addressed to him. He said he knew all about

these things. He said he had once been a Christian himself, but had fallen from grace, and his circumstances were such, that he could not reform at that time. He said he knew that he was in the snare of the devil, and that if he should then die he should be damned, and perish with a greatly aggravated condemnation. He remarked, that notwithstanding this conviction, which haunted him day and night, he felt no disposition to attempt a reform at that time. He said he was far gone in iniquity, and nothing we could say would awake him; still at times he had a hope that he should see better days. During our conversation with him, he more than once reverted to his circumstances, as unfavorable to his entering again upon a life of piety and devotedness to God; and observed, that if he was in some remote solitary situation, he would change his course of conduct, and reform. We expressed to him our surprise, if he really believed this to be the fact, that he should remain a moment where he then was. We inquired of him why he did not flee with his family from the place where he then was, in as great haste as if the house were on fire over his head. But we could not move him. During our conversation with him, we gave him to understand that we did not think he had ever experienced religion, and that he had always been the enemy of God. He replied, that "he knew not what we could believe, if we might not give credit to our own feelings and convic-

tions. No one could convince him that he had not previously been a Christian." Nothing that we could say seemed to have much effect upon him. He generally acknowledged all we said, and censured himself severely, but seemed determined to remain where he was. He appeared to us one of the most hopeless characters we had ever seen; possessed of a certain fearful looking-for of judgment, and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries.

"Generally the people are very ignorant. Ask them if they hope they are Christians, they answer "yes, they have no doubt of that." Ask them whether they have ever been born again—explain to them the nature of regeneration, and you will ascertain they know nothing of the subject. Press upon them the necessity of a change of heart, and describe their awfully exposed condition—tell them *thou art the man*, and in some instances they appear solemn and affected to tears. Where we leave Bibles with persons of this character, we obtain their solemn promise to read them with attention. The great mass of these people are fitly represented by Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones. Come, O breath, from the four winds, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live!

"*July* 12. Have been conversing with some captains of vessels and others, in company with Mr. S——, on the expediency of forming a *Marine Bible Society*. The prospect is favorable. Mr. S—— and myself have supplicated

the throne of grace for direction in this business.

"*July* 20. Conversed with Dr. F——, of South Carolina, on the subject of an Institution for the purpose of educating the blacks. He is much in favor of the contemplated measures. He thinks if the way is not at present prepared for the introduction of teachers of color into the Southern States, it is fastly preparing. It is a common thing for the blacks to manifest a great desire to learn to read, and to hear the gospel preached.

"*July* 21, *Sabbath.* Heard Dr. C——, Mr. M——, and Mr. S——. My indisposition rather increases than abates. Perhaps the Lord has little more for me to do in this world. He has made me an instrument in his hand of doing some good; but what have been the motives which have actuated me, are best known to himself. I many times fear I shall yet be dashed to pieces, as a vessel in which the Master has no pleasure.

"*July* 23. Occupied part of the day in giving out Bibles. My inquiries were made to-day in First street. Began at No. 1, and left off at 100. Found twelve families destitute. I called at one house which had lately been afflicted: the mother had lost a young child: it lay a corpse in the room. Her feelings were very tender. Upon conversing with her, I found that she did not think herself a Christian. After conversation, I inquired if she belonged to

any church? She said she did not, nor had she been visited by any minister during the sickness of her child. I proposed praying with her, to which she assented. It was a solemn season.

"I have lately received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Gloucester, of Philadelphia, a man of color. He states, that the Augustan Hall was opened on the first of June, for the purpose of giving the African youth a liberal education, at which time five very promising youths were received. Others were waiting to enter the school as soon as support could be provided for them. He states, that a few people belonging to his church, have contributed to support these young men the first quarter, hoping that God would open the hearts and hands of the friends of these poor Africans, to aid in the great and good work."

In this letter to Mr. Mills, Mr. Gloucester says,—"O my worthy friend to our suffering race, for God's sake take up your pen, and ask the public on our behalf, if we shall turn away our promising sons from school at the close of the quarter, for the want of that help which he has put it in their power to give? Or, shall we add to their number? May all that pray, *thy kingdom come*, embrace this opportunity in imparting their substance to aid this long-forgotten people. Please write soon, and advise what shall be done in this matter, which lies very near my heart."

"*July* 30. Requested Dr. G—— to write to

Dr. R——, expressing his sentiments on the importance of calling the attention of the managers of the American Bible Society to an edition of the Spanish Bible for South America.

"*Aug.* —. Some time since I called at a house in ——— street, and inquired of the woman if she had a Bible. She said, she had none, nor did she wish for one. I conversed with her seriously a little while on the importance of having a Bible and reading it daily. She observed, it was not necessary for me to continue my 'preachment' any longer, for she would not receive a Bible. As I was leaving the house, her husband came in, and I addressed myself to him. He expressed the same sentiments with his wife. Both appeared to be determined not to receive the Bible.

"*Aug.* —. Called upon a sick woman in Market street. She appeared to be inquiring with some anxiety what she should do to be saved? She, however, had but very inadequate ideas of her sinfulness, and seemed to think that she was by no means the chief of sinners. I endeavored to show her her lost condition, and point her to Christ as the only way of reconciliation with God.

"*Aug.* —. Mr. S—— and myself called to see the sick woman. She appeared to be much more deeply impressed with a sense of her ruined state without an interest in Christ. She said, she could not find any rest, but lay awake all the preceding night, praying to God

that he would have mercy on her soul. We entreated her to come to Christ without delay—to repent of her sins, and exercise faith in this Saviour *now*. We supplied her with a Bible. She wished us to pray with her. It was a solemn time.

"*Aug.* —. Mr. S—— called on this poor woman, and was led to hope she had become a child of God.

"*Aug.* —. To-day called on about fifty families on the left side of Orange street. A third part of the whole number of families cannot read! One woman said she wanted none of my Bibles; and if I gave her one, she would burn it up."

As this period of Mr. Mills's residence in New York was a season of comparative leisure, it afforded him the opportunity of writing a number of letters to his particular friends. The following communication to the companion of his labors, on the last tour to the South and West, the Rev. Mr. Smith, of Natchez, developes much of Mr. Mills's true character:—

"*Newark, Jan.* 6, 1816.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"I received your letter, dated October 19th, while at Torringford. I have heard nothing from you since. I conclude a kind Providence has preserved your life, and carried you to the desired haven. If so, you will feel, I doubt not,

that you have more cause than ever to exclaim, Bless the Lord, O my soul! The dangers we have passed together ought ever to keep alive in our hearts a spirit of gratitude to God.

"You say in your letter, 'I go forward with a cheerful heart: I hope the Lord is with me.' It is always safe trusting in the Lord. We who have experienced so much of his kindness, ought surely not to be faithless, but believing. You have gone to a dark portion of our country; but we hope it is soon to be illuminated by the light of the everlasting gospel. Sooner or later it is to be a province of the Redeemer's kingdom; and the sooner the seed is sown, the sooner shall we expect the harvest. Many prayers are offered up by the good people you have left behind, for your safety and success; therefore be strong in the Lord.

"I have hardly heard from the neighborhood of Boston since you left the city. Mr. E—— declined going on to New Orleans this season. I should hope you would give that vacant people a part of your time. Revivals of religion have been experienced in a number of towns in Connecticut. In more or less the good work still continues. The Holy Spirit seems still to attend the labors of Mr. N—— in S——. It is believed one hundred and forty persons have become subjects of the work. In Morristown and Springfield, in this State, there is much more than usual attention.

"When you write to me, give me all the information you can relative to the Western country. The Report we made out of our Western tour I have the satisfaction to believe is highly approved; so much so, that perhaps we may be in danger of becoming proud of it—but I hope not. There can be no doubt that it has been the means of interesting a great many persons of influence and wealth in favor of our destitute country; and if those in the districts of country described do not feel themselves under any obligations to us now, they will at some future period.

"You say, you wish for my advice. As to this, I have not much to say. The word of God, your particular circumstances, and your past experience, must be your guide. I have thought it very desirable that you should make it a part of your business to aid in the distribution of the Bibles which have been sent on to New Orleans. I received a letter in November last from Andover, informing me that a pious young man, and much devoted to the Missionary cause, had gone on to New Orleans for his health, and expected to spend the winter there; and that he wished to be employed in the distribution of Bibles and Testaments, in hopes of obtaining in this way part of his support. Perhaps you will find him of service to you in carrying your plans into effect. Do not fail to write to him. I hope you will be able to obtain

some contributions for the Bible societies, and that they will soon begin to purchase Bibles for themselves.

"Might you not, in giving out the tracts, aid in the formation of tract societies in some of the most important places? It is very much to be desired that the people should acquire the habit of supporting religious and charitable institutions. It seems desirable you should return to New England the next summer. You should delay entering on your tour as late as circumstances will permit. Your services must be very much needed where you are.

"Looking into a newspaper lately, I observed a paragraph, which stated that a Spanish Minister had arrived in New Orleans from Old Mexico. Would it not be a good thing to ascertain from him the state of that portion of the country, with a view of sending Bibles there, as soon as an opportunity shall present? Do obtain all the information you can. Remember me affectionately to my friends at Natchez. Let the good people at New Orleans know that I have not forgotten them. Pray for me, that I may be directed in the path of duty, and saved from injuring the cause I profess to love.

"Your affectionate brother in the Lord,

"SAMUEL J. MILLS.

"Rev. Daniel Smith."

CHAPTER VIII.

His exertions in behalf of Africa.

The darling object of Mr. Mills remains yet to be made known. It was that, in the prosecution of which he found a watery grave. The civil, moral, and spiritual degradation of the children of Africa, both in this land of civilization and Christianity and their own native regions of darkness, lay with continual weight upon his mind, and particularly after his first visit to the middle and southern States. Those to whom he unbosomed himself on this subject, could easily perceive that he was actuated by a power of feeling, and a confidence of faith, and a disinterestedness of desire, that prepared him to compass sea and land, to perform any labor, to endure any losses, to sustain any sacrifice in the prosecution of his design, and, if it were necessary, to die in the service of Africa.

It ought to be remembered with deep self-abasement, that the slave-trade has found the mass of its abettors among nations nominally Christian. According to the most judicious

calculations, Africa has been drained annually of one hundred and fifty thousand of its inhabitants.—And, let us not repress the shameful acknowledgment, "the great receptacles of this unhappy race have been the West Indies and the United States." More than two millions are supposed to exist, at the present time, in our own free country; and they are increasing with a ratio, that in sixty years will produce eight millions of these degraded, despised, oppressed beings; and to this accelerated progress there is no limit.

To suppress the slave-trade, has been for many years an object of national policy with several governments, both in Europe and America. It has been interdicted by solemn treaties: it has been proscribed and denounced by the most despotic and democratic governments; while Great Britain and the United States have exerted their naval force for its utter extermination. Still it exists; and not only exists, but flourishes nearly as much as ever, and with circumstances of inhumanity no less infamous and appalling than in former years. The horrors of this barbarous traffic are absolutely indescribable. From its first commencement in treacherous wiles, to entrap its victims; or in the conflagration of villages, to dispossess the unoffending inmates of their security, and of a home in the earth: from the severing of their strongest natural ties, through all the merciless severity of their captors, the wretchedness of their float-

ing prisons, the pestilential horrors of the middle passage, until they are consigned into helpless, hopeless bondage,—the slave-trade presents a vast, complicated system of cruelty, which no pencil can paint, or tongue tell, or imagination itself conceive.

It is no uncommon thing, at the present day, to find good men and bad, nations and individuals, uniting their protestations against the cruelties that have for ages been so wantonly inflicted on the African race. Since the establishment of the colony of Sierra Leone, and the revolution in St. Domingo, it can no longer be made a question, that a brighter day is rising on this long neglected people. Few more ardently than Mr. Mills anticipated this glorious consummation. All his measures in behalf of this depressed race seem to have been adopted and pursued with a kind of supernatural assurance, that the time was not far distant when the galling chains of African bondage should be broken, and, under the mild reign of the Prince of Peace, Ethiopia should be lifted from her degeneracy, and "stretch out her hands unto God."

With the piety of the Christian, and the wisdom of the statesman, he early suggested, as one of the means of accelerating this work of benevolence, the establishment of a school, to qualify young men of color for preachers and teachers to the African race. While he was lingering in New York and New Jersey, in the

summer and autumn of 1816, he suggested and matured this plan. In his itinerations through the States, he had been preparing the minds of many gentlemen of influence to favor such an establishment, and had received from them so much encouragement, that he was heard to say, that if only a treasury was opened at the north, it would be filled from the slave-holding States. Arrangements were made to bring the subject before the Synod of New York and New Jersey, at their annual meeting in October, 1816. It was suggested to him to write to his friends in the different States on the subject; and before the session of the Synod, a large number of answers had been received, containing many interesting facts in favor of the establishment. The matter was brought before the Synod. A committee was appointed to examine the subject; some of whom, when they went out, regarded the project as visionary and impracticable. But the extracts from these letters of Mr. Mills's correspondents overruled every feeling of opposition, and secured perfect unanimity in the committee, and subsequently in the Synod, who at the same session adopted a system of regulations, and formed the plan of the school.

In a narrative of the state of religion within their bounds for the year 1819, the Synod say of this seminary, that "they would gratefully recount the fostering mercies of Providence upon that institution of their own efforts and

prayers, the African school. Since the last report, four additional pupils have been admitted, making seven in all, whose deportment and proficiency have been such as to warrant the past expenditures of their patrons, and animate them to present hope and perseverance in this cause of Christian philanthropy; in the consummation of which, according to the tenor of prophecy, the destinies of Africa are to be elevated, and her sons introduced to the dignities and heirship of the children of God." The agency of Mr. Mills in giving existence to this institution, is very affectionately acknowledged by the Directors, in their Report to the Synod in the year 1818, soon after the tidings of his decease. The extract is as follows:—"But while the Board refer to these encouraging events, they cannot pass over one which has filled them and many of the friends of Zion with sorrow. They allude to the death of him to whom, though his modest and retiring nature concealed his agency from the world, the praise really belongs of originating the African school, as well as several other institutions, which rank among the most important and beneficial in our country. The name of Samuel J. Mills, who died in the service of Africa, ought to be known to the churches, and to be had in grateful remembrance, while worth is honored, and humble, disinterested, laborious piety is beloved. For a mind teeming with plans to extend the

Redeemer's kingdom, wholly devoted to that single object, and incessantly engaged to rouse others to the same spirit, they fear they shall not soon look upon his like again. When Africa has lost such a friend, her helpless and wretched state is more than ever to be pitied. Who will catch his falling mantle, and rise up to plead the cause of a poor outcast race?"

Soon after the organization of the Board, Mr. Mills accepted an appointment as their agent, to solicit donations in the middle States. He had at the same time a commission from the Foreign Mission School in Connecticut. The following letter to a friend in New York, was written during his absence on this tour :—

"*Philadelphia, July* 15, 1817.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"I arrived in this place yesterday from Baltimore. I collected for the Mission School, while in the State of Virginia, about fifteen hundred dollars. I received at Baltimore, and two or three other places in Maryland, for the African School, about eight hundred dollars.

"I wish you to inquire whether Paul Cuffee is in New York. About a week ago his vessel arrived there from Port-au-Prince : she is called the brig Traveller, Seabury, captain. I wish you to inform me immediately, if he is in the city. Do not neglect this request. Brother C—— left Baltimore last Monday. He obtain-

ed at that place between seven and eight hundred dollars, for the Cherokee schools.

"Your friend and brother,

"SAMUEL J. MILLS.

"Rev. W—— S——."

In the above communication, Mr. Mills mentions a name which he never repeated without delight. Paul Cuffee was a distinguished ornament to the African race. He was a native of one of the Elizabeth Islands, near New Bedford; and though educated in all the obscurity and penury of the great body of men of color, rose to affluence, respectability, and distinction, by the energy of a mind that was equal to the noblest enterprize, and the benevolence of a heart singularly devoted to doing good. Long will the sympathies of Paul be remembered in behalf of degenerate Africa. No cause lay nearer his heart than the intellectual, civil, and moral elevation of that injured people. To advance this cause, he undertook, at his own expense, and in his own vessel, an expedition to the British settlement at Sierra Leone. He went to England for the purpose of suggesting his views to the Managers of the African Institution; and, after his return, made a second voyage to Sierra Leone, carrying with him about 40 persons of his own color, with the view of commencing a settlement on the soil of his forefathers, having expended in this enterprize nearly $4,000 from his own private resources.

He died at Westport in Massachusetts, on the 7th of September, 1817, in the 59th year of his age, and in his life and death gave good evidence of genuine piety. With Mr. Mills's attachment to the African cause, it could not be otherwise than that he should be ardently attached to Paul. There were few men in whom he placed greater confidence, or who had more intimate access to the secrets of his bosom in relation to his purposes of benevolence towards the inhabitants of Africa. With what earnestness he flew to his bed-side, though he was at a distance from him of nearly a hundred miles, that he might have the privilege of being with him in his last sickness, and maturing some favored project for his unhappy countrymen, will be long remembered.

No apology is needed for here introducing a communication of the same date with the last, to a friend in Andover, who had been appointed an Agent of the African Board :—

"*Philadelphia, July 15th*, 1817.

"MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,

"I parted with Mr. C—— last week at Baltimore. He informed me that you had been appointed an agent to solicit for the African School. I do not know that you could be engaged in the promotion of a more important object. There are, as you know, more than a million and a half of people of color in the United States and Territories, the greater part

of whom are ignorant and vicious. More or less of the slave-holders soberly maintain that they have no souls; and we might conclude, that the Christian public were of the same opinion, were we to judge of the trifling efforts they have made to improve their moral and religious character. It has been, and still is, the hard lot of multitudes of these people to be chained to tasks, and to have their labor required of them with stripes, that a man of common feeling would weep to see inflicted on a brute. And to complete the climax of their sufferings, the church has withheld the only cup of consolation which could alleviate their sorrows—the hope of heaven, derived from the gospel. It is true, that in the course of two or three years past, the religious public have begun to turn their attention to this class of their suffering brethren. Sunday schools have been established to teach them to read their Bibles; and these schools extend from Raleigh, North Carolina, to Portland, in the district of Maine. Still, comparatively little is doing, when we consider how long our duty has been neglected, and how much remains to be done. Hitherto, the Presbyterian and Congregational churches have made less exertion in behalf of this class of the community than most other religious societies. The Methodists have in their connexion many men of color, who are preachers, and who in some instances preach to large congregations. The same may be said of the Bap-

tists. I know of but one or two Presbyterian churches formed of these people in the United States. The Rev. Mr. Gloucester, a very respectable man, and a member of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, was in Albany last fall, and was of the opinion that a congregation might be formed in that city from among these people, if a proper person could be found to collect them. A citizen of that place offered to give him fifty dollars a year, as his subscription, if he would stay there and use his exertions to form a church; but no person could be found to supply his place. The Board of Managers of the African School have thought of requesting Mr. Gloucester to go to England, to make collections for that institution. But it is not likely a person could be found properly qualified to supply his place in America.

"I collected in the course of the last winter about eight hundred dollars for this seminary. This sum was received principally from Baltimore and Washington. It was a very unpropitious time to attempt collections. I had sometimes to thrust my subscription paper over the heads of half a dozen miserable beggars; and still I was generally successful. I received considerable aid from slave-holders. I informed the persons on whom I called, that the object of the school was to qualify young men of color for teachers of schools and preachers of the gospel, in hope of exerting an influence in correcting the morals and manners of their brethren

in our cities and large towns; and also to raise up teachers for these people, should an effort be made to settle them by themselves, either in this country or abroad. Some gave to aid the school as an auxiliary to the colonization effort, who would not have given, had not that view been presented. I am confident that the people of color now in this country, that is, many of them, will be settled by themselves, either in this country or abroad. The teachers who may be raised up, will promote this object. Whether they remain in this country or not, much must be done to qualify them for living in society by themselves.

"I have intimated, that in my opinion, great guilt has been incurred by the religious public, on account of their neglect of this class of the community. This guilt has been incurred, not only by the slave-holders, and Christians in the Middle and Southern States, but the people of New England have the neglect of their talents and opportunities for benefiting these people to answer for. Had Sunday schools and free schools been established many years ago, the example would have been soon followed here. Had teachers of schools and preachers of the gospel been raised up, as is now proposed, they would have found a wide field for usefulness. But let us rejoice in what has of late been attempted, and endeavor to increase exertions in every possible way. Perhaps it would be well for you to have the names of some of the con-

tributors to the school, that are on my book. We should give all religious denominations a chance to assist us. I have preached in all the pulpits I could gain access to, and stated my object. In your sermons or addresses state *facts*. Facts will always produce an effect, at least on pious minds. You can easily possess yourself of facts, the bare recital of which will make the heart bleed. If you are not already possessed of facts of this character, I can furnish you. These facts must be proclaimed in the ears of the people, that they may be induced to send the hope of the gospel to the expiring and despairing slave, as well as to the debased and miserable free black. Teachers of the character we wish to raise up, I am informed, are wanted in Natchez and New Orleans, and might probably be greatly useful. It is true, there are some parts of the Southern States where they could not at present be introduced with safety; but the field is altogether greater than can be occupied for years, with all our activity and exertion. I hope to hear from you.

"Yours affectionately,

"SAMUEL J. MILLS.

"Mr. E—— W—— H——."

The remark has been frequently made, and has been repeated in the preceding pages, that a new era in the moral condition of mankind commenced about six and thirty years ago. The question has been started, "Is there any

thing in Providence which denotes that the relief and elevation of the African race belong to this new order of things?" The reply has been, unequivocally, there is; and the evidence is truly astonishing. "Precisely at the commencement of the new era," says the same able writer, "this work began on a grand scale in different parts of the world, and has kept pace with the other series of events ever since. The new era was ushered in by two great occurrences deeply affecting the negro world, and presaging their deliverance; one full of hope to those who desire their salvation; the other full of terror to those who oppress them. I allude to the establishment of a colony at Sierra Leone, and the revolution in St. Domingo. The former was intended as a door through which Christianity and civilization should be conveyed into the heart of Africa; the latter threw upon the world two organized and independent states of negroes, a sight never before witnessed, and that too by an awful eruption in the centre of that part of the world which is most deeply laden with sins against Africa. This revolution commenced in 1791; the colony of Sierra Leone was fully established in 1792. An unsuccessful beginning had been made five or six years before; but in 1791 a company was incorporated upon new and better principles, and in 1792 the colony was confirmed by more than a thousand blacks transported from Nova Scotia."

While these efforts have been silently pro-

gressing in other parts of the world, America, besides whom no nation under heaven is so deeply laden with obligations to the African race, or that has so many facilities to accomplish their restoration, has been, I had almost said, utterly indifferent to the work. Some few exertions have been made in New England, and more in the cities of New York and Philadelphia; but the public attention had never been awake to the important subject, till the formation of the American Colonization Society, at the seat of our government, in December, 1816. If there was one object to which Mr. Mills considered himself chiefly devoted, it was the interest and success of this society. For more than two years before his death, his thoughts began to be turned toward the formation of such a society. Wherever he went, this object was kept in view; and the hope of doing something to promote it, was one of the reasons which induced him to take the tour of the States. While in the southern States, he was collecting facts respecting the condition of "his poor African brethren," as he used to call them, and with his characteristic discrimination, conversing with such persons as he found prepared to entertain his views. In the western States he was endeavoring to arouse the attention of the charitable and influential to the importance of the object, because he conceived that their weight in the councils of the nation, and their pecuniary aid, might be afterwards wanted. In

Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, he labored much to procure the grant of a township of land, on which a small colony might be established, both for the purpose of making the experiment, and evincing the utility of such attempts, and more particularly, to prepare a number of persons to take the lead in some more enlarged establishment west of the Mississippi, or on the coast of Africa; and in the large cities, he was accustomed to converse much with individuals, and with small assemblies of the most respectable free people of color, to engage them to stand ready to embark in the first feasible design that might offer.

The formation of a Society, with a view to colonize the free people of color belonging to the United States, is a subject toward which the attention of some of the first men in our country has for years been directed with painful anxiety. As early as December, 1816, the General Assembly of the State of Virginia passed a resolution requesting the Governor of that State to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory upon the coast of Africa, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as had been, or might be emancipated by the laws of that Commonwealth. There was a failure in this negotiation, and the subject, with increased interest and redoubled responsibility, was thrown back upon the exertions of individuals and associations of men voluntarily combining their efforts in this lauda-

ble work. Through the unwearied assiduity of a number of gentlemen, among whom justice requires us to mention the names of Elias B. Caldwell, Esq., of the city of Washington, and the Rev. Dr. Finley, late of Baskingridge, in the State of New Jersey, the interest which had been felt in this enterprize was revived. Toward the close of the year 1816, Mr. Mills was providentially made acquainted with the plan, and had an opportunity of affording it essential service. He left New York the latter part of November, where, accidentally hearing of the movements at Washington, he repaired to that city. He arrived in time to attend a meeting, which had been appointed at the house of Mr. Caldwell, for the purpose of imploring the divine direction, on the evening of the following day, when the expediency of forming a Colonization Society was to be publicly discussed. That meeting he attended, as well as the final meeting on the twenty eighth of December, 1816, when the Colonization Society was formed—a joyful day to Mr. Mills, and a jubilee to the sons and daughters of neglected Africa.

Soon after the formation of the Society, much began to be said publicly in favor of the attempt to send the free people of color to the western coast of Africa. That same year the society presented a memorial to Congress, requesting that they would take measures to effect this object. This memorial was referred to a select committee, who reported at length and in a very

able manner, in favor of the views of the society. Owing to the pressure of business, Congress however did not decide on the report, but left it to have its salutary influence on the public mind, without any immediate legislative interference, while the society felt no small encouragement to go forward in their benevolent purpose.

In the commencement of their operations, no small degree of embarrassment was felt through want of information as to the most eligible places for the establishment of a colony. With a view to obviate this embarrassment, it was resolved to commission persons of suitable qualifications to explore the western coast of Africa. This commission, replete as it was with responsibility, was put into the hands of Mr. Mills. No sooner had he accepted it, than he saw the importance of having a colleague to share the burden with him in this arduous mission. As the funds of the society would not then allow of this appointment, Mr. Mills was employed in the formation of Auxiliary Societies in several of the large cities, till the Board felt warranted to incur the additional expense, and gave Mr. Mills the privilege of selecting his own companion on the tour. His thoughts were at once directed to a man of kindred spirit, who, to eminent qualifications for the service, added the one, that he was known to be the friend of Africa. The following letter, addressed to the Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, late Professor of Mathematics and

Natural Philosophy in Burlington College, now minister of the gospel in Dedham, Massachusetts, as it presents the object of the agency and the character of both these gentlemen in so just a light, will be read with interest :—

"*Philadelphia, July* 30, 1817.

"BROTHER BURGESS,

"I wrote you last winter from the city of Washington. I sent on to you also a pamphlet containing an account of exertions made for the purpose of colonizing the free people of color. The Hon. Judge Washington is the President of the American Colonization Society. Other gentlemen belonging to the Board are very respectable characters. It is their wish to employ two men as agents, to go to England, and thence to Africa, to Sierra Leone, and to some other places adjacent to that settlement, for the purpose of obtaining information to lay before Congress at their next session, or the succeeding one, which shall enable the General Government to act definitely, and with decision, in aid of their object. Should the information which may be obtained in England and Africa be favorable, they expect that Congress will send a national vessel, with the proper persons, to Africa, to ascertain what parts of the west coast of that continent would be best calculated for the free people of color; and also to make purchases of the natives, and open negotiations with the European government who now claim territory

on the coast. The Board of Managers will likewise exert all their influence with Congress to put an entire stop to the slave-trade, at least as far as Americans are engaged in this traffic. They wish their agents to obtain for them all the information they can on this subject, both in England and Africa. Whatever information shall be obtained, calculated to induce our government to take measures to suppress this traffic, will be presented to Congress by the Board. The Board have received a letter from Thomas Clarkson, (England,) expressing his satisfaction with their measures, and recommending the country called Sherbro, 50 leagues down the coast from Sierra Leone, as a very proper place for a colony. It is his opinion that that part of the coast does not fall within the limits of any European government, and may be purchased of the natives. He states the soil to be rich, the water good, and the natives friendly. He further observes, that the native tribes are broken into small elective governments, and could not, if they were disposed, do any great harm to a colony established on a proper scale. There are frequent communications between Sierra Leone and Sherbro; and more or less of the settlers at the former place speak the language of the natives of Sherbro, and are on friendly terms with them. Paul Cuffee has been requested by some of the citizens of Sierra Leone to commence a colony at Sherbro. He only wants the aid of our government to enable him

to do this. Paul wrote to me last January, that it was his opinion that more than half of the people of color in Boston and the vicinity would embrace the first opportunity to go out to Africa. More or less of the leading characters among these people in this city and Baltimore, are much pleased with the measures which are now taking to provide for them and theirs a settlement on the coast of Africa. It is well ascertained that many of the slave-holders will release their slaves, if a place can be provided where these people may be settled by themselves, with a prospect of living comfortably. I yesterday received a letter from Mr. Caldwell, Secretary of the Board at Washington, informing me that it was ascertained that our minister at London, who is to take the place of Mr. Adams, is a decided advocate for the measures proposed by the Board. Auxiliary Colonization Societies are forming in different places; and it seems as if the nation were coming up to aid this effort. It is a noble effort.

"I have been appointed by the Board as their agent in this noble expedition; and I am requested by them, if possible, to find a person who will engage in this Mission with me. *Will you go, brother Burgess?* It is impossible to tell the precise time the agents would be occupied on the mission. They would have extensive discretionary powers. They must be absent probably one or two years. They would leave this country on the first of October next for

England, on board the vessel which is to carry the American Minister to London. They would remain in England two or three months, probably, before they sail for Africa. Circumstances would determine how long they would remain on the coast. They would return by the way of England to America, or directly to America, as should seem expedient. All the expenses of the agents would be borne, and a suitable compensation for their services. I have not stipulated with the Board as to the precise sum.

"My brother, can we engage in a nobler effort? We go to make freemen of slaves. We go to lay the foundation of a free and independent empire on the coast of poor degraded Africa. It is confidently believed by many of our best and wisest men, that, if the plan proposed succeeds, it will ultimately be the means of exterminating slavery in our country. It will eventually redeem and emancipate a million and an half of wretched men. It will transfer to the coast of Africa the blessings of religion and civilization; and Ethiopia will soon stretch out her hands unto God.

"My dear brother, your attention has, in the course of Divine Providence, been called to consider the debased and degraded state of the descendants of Africa. You have already made some exertions in their behalf. Is not God calling upon you to do still more? You have some qualifications for the service proposed. Your knowledge of the Spanish language may

enable you to perform more important services. The information you have already obtained on the subject under consideration, qualifies you to be eminently useful on the Mission. On receiving this, direct a letter to New York. I shall be in Hartford, Con. by the 15th of August, and in Boston by the last Wednesday in August. I shall return from Boston to Hartford and Torringford, and there probably remain till the middle of September. In one of these places let me hear from you, and as early as possible.

"Your affectionate brother,

"SAMUEL J. MILLS.

"MR. EBENEZER BURGESS."

This was an appeal which it was difficult for such a man as Mr. Burgess to resist. Though the responsibility of such an agency awakened much solicitude, the objects and probable consequences of it awakened his benevolence and filled his mind; and he was pleased to signify his acceptance of the appointment in a letter to Mr. Mills, bearing date the 31st of August, 1817.

The instructions of these gentlemen, from the Colonization Society, were of a very general nature. The agents were directed to embark for London; upon their arrival there, to obtain all the information in their power relative to the west coast of Africa; to obtain letters of introduction to the Governor of the Sierra Leone colony, and other gentlemen; from London to proceed to the coast of Africa, and make Sierra

Leone their principal station while on the coast; to visit the coast as extensively as possible; to consult with the natives, and especially the chiefs, and ascertain whether an eligible spot can be found, which may be purchased at a fair price for the purposes of the colony.

Arrangements were made for them to sail in the ship Electra, a merchant's vessel bound from Philadelphia to London. Just before his embarkation Mr. Mills wrote the two following letters to his father:—

"*Philadelphia, Oct.* 24, 1817.

"REV. AND DEAR FATHER,

"While at New York, I received a letter from the Secretary of the Colonization Society, requesting me immediately to repair to the city of Washington. I am now on my way. The letter informed me that it was expected I should sail in the Franklin 74, which is to convey the American Minister to London, and will sail in ten or twelve days. The letter stated that the Board would engage Mr. Burgess as the second agent, if the funds would permit. A meeting is to be held in New York to-day, for the formation of a Colonization Society, auxiliary to the American Society, and exertions will be made there to aid the Board. Further exertions will be made in Philadelphia. I think Mr. Burgess will be appointed. If the Board should not have funds at this time to engage two agents, I shall use my efforts to have *him* to go out in the

Franklin, and remain in this country a few weeks myself, until the funds are provided, and then improve the first opportunity of going to London to meet him. I intend to have a companion on the mission, and it is not likely I could find a better than Mr. Burgess in the United States.

"You know, Sir, that for years past, I have felt an earnest desire to meliorate the condition of the people of color in the United States. The hope of aiding in some plan to effect this object, was one reason which induced me to make the tour of the States; and though I returned from the second Mission without seeing any plan in operation, which would give a prospect of relief, still I had obtained much useful information, which was calculated to enable me to judge of future plans which might be presented.

"When I left home last October for the South, I left, as I always have since I have been a minister of the gospel, with a mind ready to embrace any benevolent object which should present, and which should seem to demand my attention. Though I had certain objects particularly in view, still I did not consider myself obliged to give them my undivided attention. When I arrived in New York last November, I was informed that the subject of colonizing the free people of color was to be agitated at Washington. I left New York as soon as possible, and went on rapidly through Philadelphia and Balti-

more to that city. Immediately upon my arrival there, I called upon Mr. Elias B. Caldwell, with whom I was acquainted. He informed me that there would be a prayer meeting at his house that evening, for the special purpose of seeking the divine blessing on a meeting which was to be held on the evening of the succeeding day, to consider the expediency of forming a Colonization Society. He likewise made me acquainted with the plan proposed, which marked out the west coast of Africa as the place for the colony. You will readily conceive that my first impression was favorable, from the circumstance that a prayer meeting preceded the discussion. I attended the several meetings, and gave all the aid I could. A part of my time was occupied in making collections for the African school, writing to Paul Cuffee for information, &c. The latter part of February I proposed to certain gentlemen the propriety of collecting and printing, in a pamphlet form, a view of the exertions which had been made, comprising the Constitution of the Society, the Memorial to Congress, &c. They readily acceded to it, and wished me to collect the facts, while they engaged it should be printed at the expense of the Society. This was done, and the pamphlet was distributed to the members of Congress, and likewise sent to different gentlemen residing in the several States and Territories.

"The latter part of March, partly for the purpose of keeping up the excitement which

had been produced in favor of the colonization plan, I addressed a letter to the President of the Board of Managers, the Hon. Judge Washington, with whom I had a slight acquaintance, informing him that I would engage as the Agent of the Board, and visit England and Africa, should it be thought best to send one out. The Board at that time had no funds, and it was not my expectation that they could employ two men. This offer on my part led to the publishing of an address to the people of the United States, requesting the assistance of those who were disposed to favor the measure. The latter part of March I left Washington, and spent about three months in Virginia. On my return, I found but little progress had been made in collecting funds. The Committee of the Board requested me to act as their Agent, at Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. They addressed letters to the Vice Presidents of the Board residing in these cities, urging the formation of Auxiliary Societies. A Society has been formed at Baltimore, and another at Philadelphia. I suppose one is formed this day in New York. I think the necessary funds will be provided.

"This is a brief outline of the progress of exertions thus far. We cannot see what will be the result of the Mission, and we ought not to be over anxious. I never engaged in an object before, which laid me under so vast a responsibility. I have entered upon it with no ordinary degree of trembling, though I have

generally been satisfied with respect to what is my duty. The object is, I think, a noble one; and we have reason to hope it will be approved by God. On his approbation it must rely for success.

"You will perceive, dear sir, how much I need the prayers of pious friends, and of the church. I hope you will live many years to pray for your affectionate son, and for Zion.—And may we and those we love, love Zion and Zion's King; and then we shall be sure to meet again, if not in this world, in a better.

"Your affectionate son,

"SAMUEL J. MILLS."

The following is his last communication before he left his native land:—

"*Philadelphia, November* 15, 1817.

"REVEREND AND DEAR FATHER,

"Mr. Burgess and myself have engaged our passage on board a ship called the Electra, which is to sail to-morrow for London. Our baggage is in part already on board. We are pleased with the present arrangement. We no doubt shall have a more pleasant time on board a private ship than we could expect in the Franklin. There are to be only seven cabin passengers, and, as far as I can learn, they will be agreeable companions. Should the season be favorable, we expect to arrive in London in about thirty days.

"We have letters of introduction to many gentlemen of respectability—quite as many as we shall find time to deliver. Our prospects are at present fair, but we know not what a day may bring forth. God moves in a mysterious way, in bringing about his great and glorious designs. He sometimes puts our faith to a severe test. When his church are about to make some great effort for the promotion of his glory and the salvation of men, he not unfrequently removes some of the most prominent and apparently most important aids, lest vain man should glory in himself, and not in the Lord. I hope we shall always be prepared to say, the will of the Lord be done. I have been much with strangers; but the Lord has always provided and raised up friends for me, and I doubt not he will continue to do so. My companion and myself engage in this Mission with perfect cheerfulness. I hope we feel that unless the Lord is with us, all is in vain. If the colonization plan be of God, sooner or later it will prosper: if not approved by Him, let it fail.

"I shall write from London if I arrive there, and shall hope to receive letters from home soon after my arrival. I know I shall have an interest in your prayers, and those of my brother and sisters. I hope to be remembered at the throne of grace by many other friends.

"I am your affectionate son,

"SAMUEL J. MILLS."

Mr. Mills left America on the 16th of November, 1817, and after a short and perilous voyage, arrived in England late in December. "We little thought," said the afflicted father, "when my son left us to sail for Africa, that we should see him no more. We recollect distinctly his apparent composure on the day he left us. After he had taken his seat in the carriage, he observed to me, *the God that hath preserved me from the paw of the bear*, alluding to the dangers of his former mission, *may protect me from the paw of the lion*. It appeared that he enjoyed peculiar peace of mind, committing himself entirely to the guidance and protection of the Almighty, in view of the perils of the undertaking."—Perils there were; but he who governs the world, for the sake of the church, is not unmindful of the dangers of his people. What befel them on their voyage will be disclosed by the following letter:—

"*November* 26, 1817. *On board the Electra, long.* 43, *lat.* 41.

"DEAR AND HONORED FATHER,

"I wrote you last on the 15th, the day we left Philadelphia, to embark on board the Electra, which was lying at Newcastle. We went on board the 16th, and left the Capes and proceeded to sea the same evening. We have a very good ship, and but six cabin passengers. Captain Williams is a very worthy man: he

does all he can to render our voyage comfortable and pleasant.

"Since we have recovered from our sea-sickness we have attended evening prayers, and the way is always open for religious conversation. The captain does not permit profane language, excessive drinking, nor any species of gambling, on board the ship. We have now been at sea ten days, and have had an unusually prosperous voyage thus far. We hope to be in the English channel in a little more than a week from the present time. The weather has not been pleasant since we left the Capes, but the wind has generally been favorable. Some days have been squally—occasionally a good deal of lightning. Once we conceived ourselves in some danger from a water-spout. This alarming phenomenon, in some instances, does great damage to vessels at sea. A large quantity of water is raised to a considerable height in the atmosphere, and suddenly falls on the deck of a ship with such a force as to sink her at once. I do not know, however, that accidents of this kind occur in so northern a latitude.

"I think it a very happy circumstance that we took our passage in a private ship: we have no reason to think we could have enjoyed the peace and quiet on board the Franklin that we do here.

"*December 5th, at sea: Friday evening.* This evening we found soundings, and are in

the English channel. Our passage has been rapid thus far.

"*Dec. 11th, on board the Electra: harbor of St. Malo, in France.* You will not expect to hear of my being at this time in France. A wonderful dispensation of Divine Providence has brought us here.

"On Sabbath evening, the 7th, we encountered a severe gale, and all the ship's crew were ordered on deck. The wind continued to blow with great violence, until 4 o'clock Monday afternoon, when the captain despaired of saving the ship. He ordered her masts to be cut away, and her deck to be cleared, and informed us that he had done all he could for us. He maintained his position on deck with surprising composure and fortitude, until about 3, P. M., though perfectly wet and dashed by almost every wave. At our earnest request, he consented to step below to exchange his clothes; but in a moment the mate whispered to him to come on deck. The breakers were seen directly astern. We came near a ledge of rocks, the sea dashing against them with great violence, and the foaming surf rising far above their summit, while the ship was all the while drifting directly towards the ledge. The captain was heard to say, 'We are gone for this world!' Utterly despairing of safety on board the ship, he took his two sons, one about 14, and the other about 12 years of age, together with one of the most active sailors, stepped into the boat astern, cut

the cordage, and she fell off. In her fall the boat overset, and the youngest son was washed away, while the others adhered to the keel. The next sea righted the boat, half filled with water, and three succeeded in getting into it. We traced them as the boat rose on the summit of a few receding waves, and saw them no more!—The ship was driving directly towards a line of rocks, which extended both ways further than the eye could then distinguish, and dashed the waves like clouds into the air. Although Mr. B. had scarcely been on deck the whole day, yet in this crisis, when all was consternation, and death was believed to be our inevitable destiny within a few minutes, he went upon deck to compose the minds of our shipmates, who crowded around him to be commended to the mercy of God. At the same time, a few fellow-passengers were kneeling in fervent prayer in the cabin. As we approached the rocks within a few rods, contrary to all expectation, a strong current carried the ship along in deeper water toward the right hand of the reef. Immediately the mate ordered the rudder to be put on the starboard side, and the ship wore away and sailed some distance nearly in a line parallel to the rocks, and then crossed at the western extremity, just grazing on the shoal of sand! All exclaimed, 'It is the work of God!'

"*Monday night*, the storm still raging, was a dark and gloomy night, as you will readily conclude.

"*Tuesday Morning*, the storm abated. Our masts, sails, shrouds, and anchors were gone, though we found the hull of the ship sound, and all hands in usual health.

"*Tuesday*, 12 *o'clock*, we discovered land, which we thought to be the island of Guernsey. The ship continued, with partial sails, to be in some degree under our direction. At 4 o'clock, P. M. we discovered land in another direction, which could more readily be gained, as the wind then was; but as it was near night, and we were unacquainted with the coast, we concluded, if possible, to lie to, and attempt to gain land in the morning, which was ten or fifteen miles distant. We then had twenty-four fathoms of water. We had previously lost both our anchors, during the gale. The next morning we found ourselves but a few miles from our position the evening before, and within a short distance of land, and the weather pleasant. By means of the chart, we concluded the land in sight was the coast of France, and that we were near St. Malo. By eight o'clock in the morning, we discovered a number of boats coming off to our aid. By twelve o'clock we received a pilot from the harbor of St. Malo; and at five o'clock, P. M. were safe in the harbor.

"*Wednesday*, 10*th*. We are all well, and have not suffered any loss of property. You will adore the distinguishing goodness of God in my preservation, in that of my companion, and the rest who were preserved with us in the

ship. I shall hope to write to you again soon, and give you a more particular account.

"S. J. M."

"*Harbor of St. Malo, Dec.* 11, 1817.

"REV. AND DEAR FATHER,

"After our severe trials, which I have briefly related, you will rejoice with me, when you contemplate my present quiet, and as I consider, safe situation. The sun shines out, and gives a pleasant view of the surrounding country. The city of St. Malo is not more than a quarter of a mile from the ship. This city contains ten or twelve thousand inhabitants. It is a kind of citadel, surrounded with a high wall, built of stone. The buildings are of stone, generally of a light color; and from our place of observation the city presents a very antique appearance.

"We shall be detained in the ship to-day, and probably longer. We must undergo a quarantine; but as we have no sickness, we earnestly hope to be delivered from our prison soon. Our cabin was so deluged with water during the gale, that it continues very damp. Our beds and bedding have been wet, and the weather is cold and chilling, though we have, a part of the day, a fair sky and the shining of the sun.

"I hope, my dear sir, that by the late dispensation of God's providence, I shall learn submission to the divine will, and more entire devotedness to God. My life, which has been in a signal manner preserved, should surely be

consecrated to his service. To the present time I have not dared to attempt a particular account of the scenes which I have passed through since the last Sabbath evening. The scene is so deeply settled in my soul as not to be eradicated while I live. O God, I thank thee for my preservation, and that of my dear companion, and our other friends rescued from the devouring flood. While we lament the loss of some of our number, we know that though 'clouds and darkness are round about Him, justice and judgment are the habitation of his throne.'

'He moves in a mysterious way, his wonders to perform—
He plants his footsteps in the sea, and rides upon the storm.'

Ah, yes; 'he rides upon the storm'—he follows with his unerring eye, and sustains with his almighty hand the weary and the tempest-tossed. Verily, if the Lord had not been on our side, the proud waves had gone over our souls. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, for his wonderful works to the children of men! Ye that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters, praise ye the Lord. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness! In whatever condition we may be—whether on the land or on the sea—whether among friends or strangers—every moment we experience his preserving care and kindness:—but when he brings us up from among the dead—from the bowels of the ocean, and permits us to labor yet a little longer in promoting the pre-

cious kingdom of his dear Son,—how great, how immense are our obligations to live to him alone!

"Your affectionate son,
"SAMUEL J. MILLS."

After the delay of six days at St. Malo, Messrs. Mills and Burgess proceeded by land to Havre-de-Grace, and on the same evening took passage in a regular packet for England: in twenty-four hours arrived at South Hampton, and the next morning entered London. Early after their arrival, they presented their letters to Zachary Macaulay, Esq. formerly Governor of Sierra Leone; to the Rev. Messrs. Pratt and Bickersteth, Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, who were partially informed as to the designs of the Colonization Society and the nature of the embassy, and gave them many expressions of their confidence. Mr. Wilberforce also received them with great cordiality, and perused their letters and commission with deep sensibility and high approbation.—The Rev. Mr. Owen, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Rev. Mr. Henderson, the Agent of that Society in Russia, were providentially present at this interview; and there was an enthusiastic reciprocity of feeling, which is not often witnessed or experienced. Though all were communicative, yet the father and patron in the company was all

speech, action, thought, and benevolence. Mr. Wilberforce kindly offered his services to introduce the gentlemen to Lords Bathurst and Gambier, and to prepare the way for their introduction to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, the patron of the African Institution. His Royal Highness received them with great politeness, and showed himself much gratified with the object of the American Society. Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the colonies, cast his eye over their commission, and promptly offered to give them letters to the Governor of Sierra Leone, and other officers, on the coast. Lord Gambier expressed a deep interest in the embassy; called on the gentlemen at their own lodgings, and politely proffered any services in his power to promote the views of the Mission. No narrow views, no political prejudices, no supreme regard to national or personal aggrandizement, prevented the friends of humanity in England from listening to the nature of the embassy, interposing their influence in favor of this benevolent object, and affording the agents every facility and all reasonable assistance in the prosecution of their purpose.

After adjusting all their concerns in England, they embarked for Africa on the 3d of Feb. 1818. Some of the incidents of this voyage are stated in the following letter to Mr. Mills's only sister. It is the last he ever wrote:—

"*On board the ship Mary, February* 26, 1818.

"On the 3d of February we embarked on board the ship Mary, for Sierra Leone, then lying off Gravesend. We were then in hopes that we should arrive on the African coast in eighteen or twenty days; but in this expectation we have been greatly disappointed. For some days after we left Gravesend we had very light breezes, and progressed but slowly. Soon after we were out of the English channel, we began to experience contrary winds, and during ten or twelve days encountered a number of gales, the wind almost uniformly against us. It is now the 26th of February, the time in which we calculated to have been on the African coast, had the winds been favorable; and yet we are not further distant from London than what is often attained in five or six days. For eight or ten days preceding the present time, we have been obstructed by adverse winds—tossed about in the Bay of Biscay—some of the time in sight of the Spanish coast. Last evening the wind came round from the southwest to the northwest, and we are now proceeding prosperously on our voyage. Although we have experienced this delay, yet we have passed most of our time pleasantly, and I hope profitably, since we have been on board. We have a very good ship: our accommodations are such as to render us very comfortable, and the officers of the ship are kind and skilful men. Thus far the Lord hath dealt with us in mercy. His hand hath

been stretched forth for our preservation, and we hope we shall be able to put our trust in him for the future. Myself and companion are aware that we have embarked on a mission attended with much hazard of our lives. We conceive the future danger to arise principally from the climate of the country to which we are going. Should we be detained on the African coast, this danger will be increased by our late arrival there. The most favorable season for Europeans or Americans to visit the western coast of Africa, is in the winter. We now hope to arrive on the coast by the 15th of March. Could we have reached there two or three months earlier, we should have esteemed ourselves highly fortunate. Circumstanced, however, as we are, we are not without hopes, that the object of our Mission may be effected without any very considerable delay, and we thus be enabled to leave at least soon after the commencement of the rainy season. But we do not feel that we ought to be greatly anxious in our present situation. We have used our best efforts, both before and since our leaving the United States, to arrive on the coast at the earliest period possible. Whether I am to live or to die while engaged in this Mission, God only knows: but one thing we know, and in this we will rejoice,—Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God. The time will come, when the barbarous tribes of Africa shall worship Jesus as King in Zion. The time will

come, when her children, now under oppression and in bondage, shall become the freemen of the Lord. And should I die in Africa, and not again visit the land of my nativity, still it would be a great consolation to my dear friends, might they hope, as did Mr. Newell in another case, "that my bones had taken possession of the promised land, and would rest in the glorious hope of the final and universal triumph of Jesus over the god of this world." The responsibility of my station at this time, I consider to be vast, far beyond any thing that has been ever before attached to my situation. But I hope I did not engage in it rashly—certainly not before I felt a full conviction that the contemplated measures would be approved of God. By this manner of expression, I do not intend to express my entire confidence that precisely the measures contemplated will be succeeded at once. 'God moves in a mysterious way.' But this I believe, that the agitation of the subject now under consideration, will eventuate in the most happy results. If an evil exists in a community, a remedy must be sought, especially if it be an evil generally and necessarily increasing in its unhappy effects. As long as no exertions are made to redress the grievance, the case must become every day more hopeless.

"As the unhappy state of the free people of color, as well as that of the slaves, had long occupied my thoughts, it was with peculiar pleasure that on my arrival at Washington, in De-

cember, 1816, I found the subject engrossing public attention: not that I ever supposed that a million and an half of men, or even a considerable proportion of that number, would be at the present time particularly benefited by this discussion—or that even any more than comparatively a very small part of the free people of color could at present, or very soon, be greatly benefited by the measures proposed. But I considered a movement, or even a disposition to agitate the subject, as a ray of light breaking through a dark cloud, and as the precursor of another and another. I felt it my duty, therefore, to give the design all the aid I could.

"I felt the more constrained to do this, as I perceived after the formation of the Colonization Society, that there was danger that the interest which had been excited would subside, and things revert to their former state. The sending agents to Africa would help to keep the subject alive in the public mind; and as the impulse seemed evidently to be benevolent, there was a prospect that happy consequences would ensue, could that impulse be kept up.

"Beside, a consideration of the state of the free people of color, might lead to measures calculated to improve their condition at home, if a place could not be provided for them abroad. It might lead to measures to restrain the practice of kidnapping, and even for improving the state of the slaves; and lead eventually, perhaps, to the emancipation of many of the latter class.

If, by pursuing the object now in view, a few of the free blacks of good character could be settled in any part of the African coast, they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations already there. Their settlement might increase gradually; and some might, in a suitable time, go out from that settlement and form others, and prove the occasion of great good. These, and many other like views, which I had taken of the subject, induced me to undertake the arduous business, and to act as agent for the society. We have great hopes the plan will succeed. God has protected us thus far, and we hope he will return us again to our friends. Farewell."

CHAP. IX.

His Journal as Agent of the Colonization Society.

A PLEASANT passage brought them to the coast of Africa on the 12th of March. The events which occurred from this date will better appear from the journal of Mr. Mills while in that country. The preparation of this document was the last service he was permitted to perform. It is in itself so excellent, and is in so few hands, that the reader will expect somewhat copious extracts.

"*Ship Mary, off Cape de Verde,*
Thursday, 12th March, 1818.

"We left London on the 3d February, and on the 7th sailed from the Downs. For eighteen days we encountered head winds and strong gales, and made slow progress. On the 25th we had a distinct view of Cape Finisterre, in Spain. On the 3d of March we passed Madeira, and, on the 6th, Palma, and other Canary islands. We expect to see Cape Verde to-day, and to anchor in the river Gambia to-morrow.

"While on the voyage we have been chiefly employed in reading books which treat of the people, climate, soil, and productions of Africa.

"At 4, P. M. we exulted at the sight of Africa, and began to draw, with our pencils, imperfect sketches of the coast, the eminences, trees, &c. Cape Verde is high, open to the sea breeze, and verdant in appearance. The two eminences are called the Mamelles: the cape terminates with islands of rocks.

"The mouth of the Senegal is about 100 miles northeast of Cape Verde. The island St. Louis, belonging to the French, lies nine miles up the Senegal, and has a mixed population of five or six thousand. It is valuable as a military and commercial station, to command the trade of that great river.

"As we passed south of the Cape, Goree presented itself to view. This island, which belongs to the French, is little better than a barren rock, about three fourths of a mile in circumference, with a population of four or five thousand. We saw the vessels in the harbor, and the flag at the fort. It is a place of resort for European invalids, while on the coast.

"*Gambia, Friday, 13th March.*

"Early this morning we began to enter the noble Gambia, between Cape St. Mary's and Banyan Point on the right, and Sanguomar, the Bird Islands, and Barra Point, on the left. The bay is 12 or 15 miles wide, and the mouth of

the river between Barra and Banyan Points is six miles wide. The weather is very pleasant, the thermometer at 68 degrees, and the sun obscured by a hazy atmosphere.

"At 12, A. M. we anchored near the village St. Mary's, situated on Banyan Point. It is an infant settlement, commenced only two years ago. The governor's house, the barracks, and a few other houses, are tolerably well built: most of the others are constructed of very slender materials, just sufficient to afford a shade from the sun, and a shelter from the dews and rains. The people were cheerful, and generally employed in some kind of labor. Some were unlading goods; some burning shells for lime; and some at work in the carpenters' and smiths' shops. We stood some time to see a company of soldiers go through the manual exercise. They were mostly Africans, above the ordinary stature, well formed, and neatly dressed. They appeared to be quite expert and intelligent. The military force of the place is about 100 men. A few pieces of cannon, mostly dismounted, are arranged along the beach. There is no fort or block-house. Notwithstanding the exposed state of the settlement, there is no fear of assault from the native tribes. The number of Europeans is about thirty, and the population of the village is already seven or eight hundred. Trade is the soul of the colony: this will increase annually, as the trade of the whole river will concentrate here. The spot does not invite to

agriculture, and there are none in the settlement whose interest and dispositions incline them to it. The officers attend to the civil order and safety of the colony: the merchants hope to amass a fortune, and return home. There is, as yet, no attention paid to literary or moral instruction; hence, the internal improvement of the place will be very slow, unless some humane society afford their aid.

"*Gambia, Saturday, 14th March.*

"We made our respects to the commandant, and became acquainted with most of the Europeans here. They gave us several facts respecting the slave-trade, which is now renewed by the French, at the Senegal and Goree, to a great extent. Some hundreds of slaves have been smuggled away in canoes and small vessels, by night, even from this river and the parts adjacent, within a few months.

"We walked out from the settlement two or three miles. Most of this space, overgrown with wild grass, resembled a prairie of Illinois or Missouri. The herds of cattle, which abound in this vicinity, become very tolerable beef by feeding on grass alone. We saw marshy spots, where the tide had some time flowed, incrusted over with salt. We measured an Adansonia, (monkey-bread tree,) which was 40 feet in circumference.

"This settlement claims only a small tract of land, for the use of which there is an annual

allowance of a small parcel of goods to the king of Combo. This man is well spoken of, and is said to be averse to the slave-trade, which cannot be said of many of the native kings. This is a noble river, and flows through a luxuriant country.

"*Gambia, Monday, 16th March*, 1818.

"We embarked in the brig Success for Sierra Leone, leaving the Mary to unlade a part of her cargo. We hope to arrive there in four or five days. It would have been very pleasing to us to have gone up the Gambia a few hundred miles. But our time is invaluable to us before the rains, and we hasten to that part of the coast which our instructions require us to survey.

"At St. Mary's we saw Capt. Lloyd, a friend of the lamented Park. Another interesting person was Thomas Joiner, a native African. He was a son of a prince of some distinction, who lived about six hundred miles up this river. When a boy, he was kidnapped and sold in the West Indies. He was afterwards redeemed by an English captain, who knew his father. He was well educated in England, and restored to his country. He is a man of good character and habits, and has acquired property and influence. He has just returned from England, where he left two sons for an education. He says that he shall buy a brig the next year, to import his own goods. Will not some of our American people of color be fired by this ex-

ample? They might fit out vessels to trade to this country, which would enable them to ascertain its valuable productions, and to survey parts of the coast. Such an intercourse they would find much to their advantage. This will most naturally lead to settlements in this country.

"The more we learn of Africa, the more confident we are that the plan of the American Colonization Society will eventually succeed. We obtain increasing proofs of the fertility of the soil, and ascertain a greater variety of the productions of the country. If the slave-trade, that mother of abominations and source of woes unutterable, can be annihilated, Africa will revive and assume a respectable rank among the nations of the earth.

"*Sierra Leone, Sabbath, 22d March*, 1818.

"At 9, A. M. we are sailing into Sierra Leone river, which is about ten or twelve miles wide. The mountains rise in irregular ridges and peaks, one beyond another, and present a grand and verdant appearance.

"At 11, A. M. boats and canoes came to us from the town. We anchored below to wait for the next tide. The town has the appearance of a neat and pleasant village. For health and commerce, its local situation is admirable. It is too hard and hilly for agriculture.

"Several villages are in sight. The church on Leicester Mountain is in full view, and aids

us much in our devotional thoughts on this sacred day.

"The altars on these mountains, which the natives had dedicated to devils, are falling before the temples of the living God, like the image of Dagon before the ark. The time is coming when the dwellers in these vales and on these mountains will sing hosannas to the Son of David. Distant tribes will learn their song. 'Ethiopia shall stretch forth the hand unto God, and worship.'

"*Sierra Leone, Monday, 23d March.*

"We are sorry to learn that Gov. Macarthy is absent on a visit to the Gambia. We made our respects to the commandant, chief justice Fitzgerald, and the council at the government house. We presented Lord Bathurst's letter. They said, in obedience to his Lordship's instructions, it would give them pleasure to take us to different settlements in the colony, to show us the schools, and to render us any assistance in the objects of our embassy. We were grateful, as we should be, and saw the wisdom of our coming by the way of England. We delivered our letters in the colony. Many of the people of color were joyful to see us. The death of captain Cuffee is deeply lamented.

"*Sierra Leone, Thursday, 26th March*, 1818.

"We visited the schools in Freetown. In the male school were about 200 neat, active, in-

telligent boys, divided into eight classes, under the superintendence of Mr. Horton, whose perseverance and fidelity are entitled to high commendation. We saw the writing of the boys, and heard them read and spell. In the female school were about 100 neatly-dressed little girls, many of whom could read and sew. These schools would do no dishonor to an English or American village. There was not a white child in either of them. I believe schools of white children seldom give fairer proofs of good improvement.

"The number in all the schools in the colony, including some adults, does not fall much short of two thousand. This is about one-sixth part of the whole population.

"*Sierra Leone, Friday, 27th March*, 1818.

"In the evening we met the principal members of the Friendly Society. This society was instituted among the colonists at the suggestion of the late Paul Cuffee. John Kizell is the president. We made a full statement of our object. All appeared to be much gratified. It was not the first notice which they had of our design, as we brought many letters from their brethren in Boston and New York. It was their opinion that wherever the colony might be formed, it was not expedient to request a large tract of land at first, as the kings might be alarmed lest we should take their country from them. If we can gain footing in an eligible

place, there will not be much difficulty in obtaining additional grants hereafter, as the land may be wanted. One observed, that if a man of great wealth should come and wish to buy one of our houses, we might sell it to him; but if he should wish to buy all Freetown, an alarm would be made at once.

"Some of the kings have a suspicion lest those whom they have sold to slave-traders should return and revenge on them their wrongs. This fear would be increased if the territory desired was of great extent. One man who was sold from the Sherbro nearly thirty years ago, has lately returned. He openly asserted, that if any person should take any of his family, and sell them, he would kill that man without the least hesitation.

"We informed the meeting of our design to go down the coast to Sherbro, and wished to know whether they would recommend any of their number who might go with us as interpreters and advisers. It was understood that Mr. Kizell and Mr. Martin would accompany us.

"Before we parted, we addressed our prayers to God; to whom the honor and glory of this great and benevolent enterprize will belong, if it is carried into effect.

"*Saturday, 28th March*, 1818.

"Monday we expect to begin our tour down the coast, and have been much occupied to-day in making preparations. We have engaged a

sloop of 10 or 15 tons, with a captain, five men, and a boy, all Africans, at six dollars per day, they finding their own provisions. Mr. B. and myself, with Messrs. Kizell, Martin, and Anderson, our pilot, complete our number. We have laid in some provisions, calculating on an absence of three or four weeks, and have taken some goods with which to purchase additional provisions, and to make the necessary presents to the kings and head men, on whom we may call.

"*Sabbath, 29th March*, 1818.

"Setting out at six o'clock in the morning, in company with several gentlemen, we rode to attend public worship at Regent's Town and the Christian Institution. The Christian Institution is a large school for the captured children, established by the Church Missionary Society, and stands on Leicester Mountain, three miles from Freetown. This institution accommodates about 200 children of both sexes, who are mostly named and supported by individual benefactors in England. These are children once destined to foreign slavery, now fed, clothed, governed, and carefully taught in the Christian religion. Assembled in the church to worship God, they are a spectacle of grateful admiration; and their state happily exemplifies the divine origin and holy principles of the religion in which they are taught. Regent's Town lies in a valley, with a fine brook running through it. Some

hundreds of acres are cleared by the people. It has the appearance of a new and flourishing settlement. The wilderness buds and blossoms like the rose. Here we saw 200 children in the schools. On the Sabbath more than 1000 of the children and people were present in the church, neatly dressed, sober, attentive to the reading of the word of God, and uniting their voices to sing his praise.

"*Monday*, 30*th March*, 1818.

"A part of the day has been occupied in taking our departure for our tour down the coast. About 3, P. M. we made sail and beat our way down to Cape Sierra Leone, which we passed before night. As our African captain is afraid of damage to the ship by running in the night, we came to anchor a few miles from the Cape. The high ridges of the mountains present a pleasing prospect, and the more so, as we know that hosannas are sung to Zion's King upon their very summit. So God has kindly ordered: the chain is broken, and the captive slave is free.

"*Plaintain Islands*, *Tuesday*, 31*st March.*

"This morning early we were in sight of the Bananas. They afford a handsome prospect. We propose to call on Thomas Caulker, the head man of the islands, who is understood to have influence with Somano, and other kings in Sherbro.

"At 9, A. M. we anchored off the Bananas, and went to pay our respects to Caulker. He met us at the landing, and invited us to his house. After we had conversed together some time, and walked about the town, we took our seats in a spacious room, furnished with chairs, tables, &c. Mr. Kizell presented Mr. C. a few bars of tobacco and powder, and stated to him our character, and the objects of our visit to Africa. He said that we had been sent by the friends of Africans in America, to find a place where a colony might be formed to which the descendants of Africans now in America might resort; and as we were going down to see king Sherbro, we wished to consult with him too, as we knew that he had considerable influence with those on whom we were to call. He said our design was like Paul Cuffee's, whom Mr. C. had known. I then observed that he knew how the people had been carried from this country some hundred years past. Many of their descendants were now free. Some had already returned to this country: others wished to return, if a good place could be found for a colony and the kings favored the plan. Caulker, who appears to be a sensible man, said, he was pleased with our object, and wished we might succeed. He thought it would be a very good thing for this country, if a colony could be formed at Sherbro. He said a settlement might be formed, as we proposed, on the Camaranca river, which he claimed as his territory; but

that large vessels could not pass the bar of the river. We said that on some accounts a settlement further down the coast would be preferred, as the colony of Sierra Leone claimed the north bank of the Camaranca. He said he would send his son and nephew with us to the Plantains, and to Sherbro, to tell his desire to favor us, and his wish that they would do the same. He charged the young men to tell the kings our object was a good one.

"We left the Bananas at 12, and arrived at the Plantains at 3, P. M., a distance of twenty miles. George Caulker, head man of the Plantains, is a nephew of Thomas Caulker of the Bananas, and has spent six or seven years in England, for education. As the surf ran too high for our small boat, we made a signal for a canoe to take us on shore: it was soon alongside, paddled by six men.

"The head man received us in a friendly manner, and invited us into his house, which was a very convenient building. We laid before him a small present, and made known the object of our visit. He expressed a fear that the colony would hereafter claim more territory than it ought. Sierra Leone had now become powerful, and had already taken a considerable extent of territory under their direction. He said the kings would have less objection to an American colony, if the people of color were to govern the colony themselves. They are afraid that white men will take their country from

them; but they will not have the same fears of their brethren. We told him that we were of the opinion that the good men, in our country, who sent us here, would be well satisfied to have the colonists govern themselves, if the proper persons could be found among them. If the white people should interfere, and appoint a governor of the colony, it would be only to give it stability and security; and, whatever part they might take at first, they would be looking forward to the time when the people of color should govern themselves. This view of the subject seemed very satisfactory to him, and he said his sentiments were the same as his uncle's, and he should be pleased to have us settle at the mouth of the Camaranca.

"*York Island, Wednesday, 1st April.*

"Last night we anchored in seven fathoms water, half way between the Plantains and Sherbro Island. This morning we sailed along Sherbro Island, and as we approached Jenkins we saw the mouth of the Bagroo river, and the highlands in the interior; the former 8 or 10 miles, and the latter 20 or 25 miles, distant. Sherbro Island is usually estimated at 22 miles by 12, in extent. At 10, A. M. we called at Samo, a town of 20 huts, on the island, half a mile from Jenkins. A canoe took us on shore. Somasa, the head man of Samo, was not at home. William Ado is the head man of Jenkins. The brother of Somasa accepted our

little present, and heard our words. He said, as his brother was not at home, he could not turn one way or the other, i. e. presumed not to express his opinion. We walked about the island, found the water good, and the surface 15 or 20 feet above the sea.

"At 3, P. M. we arrived at York Island, now occupied by Mr. Anderson, formerly of Bance Island. This island may be two miles long, and one broad, is low, unhealthy, and surrounded with mangroves. The mangroves grow several feet high, and have much the same appearance at a distance as the willows on the banks and islands of the Mississippi. We visited the ruins of an old fort or castle—walls very thick —bricks uncommonly red and hard—stone of a quality not to be found about here—probably built 200 years ago, now partly washed away by the tides.

"*Bendou, Thursday, 2d April.*

"This morning we came to Bendou. King Somano has three villages near him, and owns considerable tracts of land in different places. Soon after we anchored, he sent a canoe on board to know who were come. The messenger was told that two gentlemen had come from America to see him. We were pleased to learn that Safah of Chaa was here, as it would be necessary to see him likewise.

"At 10, A. M. we went on shore, and found king Somano seated in the Palaver-house. This

is only a conical roof, supported by posts, leaving an area about twenty feet in diameter. Mr. K. took his seat near the king; Mr. B. and myself nearly in front. Safah soon made his appearance, marching along between the mud-walled cottages, dressed in a silver-laced coat, a superb three-cornered hat, a mantle around his neck hanging nearly to the ground, blue bafta trowsers, considerably the worse for wear; without stockings or shoes. Somano was dressed in a common gown and pantaloons, with hat and shoes. Safah is large, has a broad African face, and an inquisitive eye. Somano is rather slender, and has a face less striking: both are nearly sixty years of age. After a full introduction to the kings, we had to shake hands with the men and women, who had collected around to the number of 40 or 50. Some of our party went to the schooner for our present, before the palaver could be opened. Mr. K. left his handkerchief in the chair, as a pledge that he would come back. Our present consisted of a piece of bafta, a keg of powder, a few bars of tobacco, and a small jar of rum. The last article Mr. K. was requested to obtain for us, as we were told they would in no case hold a palaver without it; and we have reason to believe our information correct. These people are only children of a larger growth, and we would hope, by a temporary conformity, gradually to wean them from their vicious customs. One jar only was first set before them: they

contended that there were two kings, and they must have two bottles; nor would they yield this point until a second was produced. The palaver now went on. Mr. K. stated, in a very satisfactory manner, the nature and objects of our visit:—That we came from America, from Washington, the capital of the United States: that wise and good men had agreed to help the black people who wished to come to this country: that the design was a good one, and would promote the best interests of the black people both in America and Africa: that if they should sell or give tracts of their unimproved lands, the people who came would introduce more knowledge of the arts and of agriculture—would buy such things as they had to sell, and would sell to them such things as they wanted. They listened with attention. We made additional statements, with which they expressed their satisfaction. Safah inquired if we had any book with us. We told him we had. Mr. B. read, and Mr. K. interpreted some parts of our instructions, particularly the article which directs us to visit Sherbro.

"During the discussion, the kings suggested fears that an American colony would do as Sierra Leone had done, (referring to a war which in the event dispossessed king Thom of the country adjacent to the colony.) Mr. K. defended Sierra Leone, and made the kings submit to the truth of his argument. They said they were younger brothers of Sherbro, and must

wait his answer. If we had applied to them for land, they would have given their consent: now they are not able to give an answer, but will send a man to speak their mind to Sherbro. They thanked us for our present, but made no return. Indeed, we could hardly have desired their bounty, as they are,—and ever will be, poor, while their indolent habits are indulged. They possess much good land, but do not cultivate one acre in fifty, if one in five hundred. The banks of Sherbro bay are low, not exceeding twenty feet above the sea. Some places are occasionally overflowed with the tide, and covered with mangroves. High lands may be seen between the Bagroo and Deong rivers. We are inclined to think the first station should be on Sherbro Island, near Jenkins, and the principal settlements on the Bagroo, nearly opposite. Sherbro bay has much the appearance of the Mississippi river between the mouth of the Ohio and Natchez. The islands are numerous. The land on Sherbro Island is flat and sandy, but covered with a luxuriant growth of trees, shrubs, vines, pine-apple plants, &c. The water is good, though less cold than in more northern latitudes.

"During our conversation, the kings named some articles which our people must bring hereafter, if an arrangement be made for land. One wanted a large hat, shoes, &c.; the other wanted a silver-headed cane, clothes, and especially

a black horse-tail, furnished with an elegant handle, which is the badge of royalty in this country.

"After the palaver was over, the rum was served round in a small glass. Some became merry and noisy. We walked to two other villages on the bank, and returned to the schooner at 3, P. M.

"We had not been long on board when we received a troublesome visit from Somano and some of his men. He said he came to pay his respects to us; and it was the custom when the king came on board a vessel, to be treated with rum, &c. We excused ourselves that we were not on board our own ship, and could not treat the king with the same respect as we might in our own country. He left us tolerably satisfied, after being regaled with a bottle of wine, and receiving some pipes for his tobacco; but on shore he complained of our incivility. He has been long acquainted with slave-traders, and it would be strange if he supported a different character under the tuition of such men.

"Some of his people brought on board some mats, honey, palm-oil, and rice, to trade.

"Near the Palaver-house was a little thatched hut, not larger than a spread umbrella, called the witch or devil's house. It was filled with shells, bits of cloth, &c. In walking out from the village, I passed by the devil's bush, a thicket of shrubs and vines nearly impenetrable

by any one. If a woman should be found in this bush, she would suffer death, according to the law of the Purrah. When we were at the Bananas, I saw a man, who was tattooed with marks and lines on his face, back, and breast; and inquired of Caulker the reason of it. He said he was what the English would call a Freemason, a Purrah, and known to his brethren by these marks.

"In this land, where altars are erected to devils, we sung the hymn, 'Salvation, oh the joyful sound,' &c. A number of the natives were present at our evening prayer, and behaved well.

"*Yonie, Friday, 3d April.*

"Improving the wind and the tide, we crossed the bay six or eight miles to Yonie, where king Sherbro lives. The islands and the main land present a very verdant and handsome prospect.

"At 8, A. M. anchored at Yonie, and Messrs. Kizell and Martin went on shore to prepare the way for our interview with king Sherbro and the prince Kong Couber. We may safely trust our friend K. No man's heart can be more ardent for the success of our object, and no man in Africa could probably be so useful to us under present circumstances. After his return in the afternoon, he gave us the following narrative. He met Kong Couber by the water side, who took him by the hand and led him to his

house. He told the prince that two gentlemen, strangers of king Sherbro, had come. They are from America, the city of Washington, and the kings and head men there. They are sent to see king Sherbro, and obtain a place for some black people who are free in that country, and will come to sit down by king Sherbro, if he will give some ground where they may settle. The offer is made to Sherbro; but if he refuses it, the people will be settled in another place. If he gives them a place, it will be a great advantage to his children and people; for these people will bring the arts and knowledge of cultivation, and will establish schools to learn the children. We, old men, must die soon. The children will be instructed and know more than their fathers. These people will make things cheaper and plentier: they will come in quiet, without quarrels and fightings. If our people do bad, there must be a regular palaver, and no arms taken up. If your people do bad, the business must be settled the same way. If it be a great crime, I suppose the bad man will be shut up and made to work hard, and no lives taken. If you want to know the truth of these things, you may send some of your sons to America for education, and perhaps some head men to see what these men say is true. To all this, and to each sentence, he said, *hem, hem.*

"Not finding the prince disposed to say much, Mr. K. sent Mr. M. for a bottle of wine and a little tobacco. He drank a little of it, and gave

the rest to his people. He then sent two fowls on board for our dinner.

"The prince then told Mr. K. that all he said was true and good. But he was only a boy, and could say nothing before he saw the king. He could give no answer: he must call all the head men together, and tell them the business, that they might speak their mind, for the country belonged to all the kings and head men. But he would hold a palaver to-morrow, and hear what the gentlemen would say.

"The prince, Kong Couber, is the son of old king Sherbro. It is a custom of the people, when a king dies, to select a king from another family. While one of another family enjoys the name of king, this prince has the ability to preserve the power in his own hands. He is a man of superior intelligence and skilled in palavers. We shall probably be detained a week at least. It is impossible to foresee the result. We now propose to obtain a pledge that we may occupy some miles square on Sherbro Island opposite the Bagroo, and tracts of land on that river including the mountains 20 or 25 miles up. The country is represented fertile, with very few inhabitants, and especially in the hilly parts healthy. Large vessels may safely come to Jenkins, and there are four fathoms of water up the Bagroo.

"*Yonie, Saturday, 4th April,* 1818.

"The morning cloudy; the thermometer stands at 80 degrees; the extremes of tempera-

ture which I have noticed since I left Sierra Leone, were 97 degrees and 86 degrees.

"The loud and confused cries of the natives in the village, occasioned by the death of one of the women, attracted our attention at an early hour. These lamentations for the dead often continue a considerable time. When the inhabitants of the surrounding villages come into the place where the death has occurred, they commence their cries.

"We have ascertained that the account which J. Banna, the African, gave us in London, is correct. He has a brother living in the Gallinas. We have not ascertained whether his father is alive. The rock to which he referred, split into two parts, and one part standing erect, and visible three days' journey off, appears to be an inaccessible ledge, the resort of wild birds. Banna, who expressed an ardent desire to bring his brethren to a knowledge of the truth, may yet be a blessing to his country.

"We went on shore to attend the palaver. Kong Couber met us where we landed, in a friendly manner, and introduced us to king Sherbro. He was sitting in the door of his hut, barefoot, with a cap and three-cornered hat on his head, dressed in a calico gown, and some folds of country cloth, with a large silver-headed cane in his left hand, and a horse-tail, the regal badge, in his right. He is about sixty years of age. We walked together under a large *cola* tree, which furnished an excellent shade. Sher-

bro seated himself in a great chair, Mr. K. on his right hand; Couber on a large mat before the king; Mr. B. and myself near the foot of the tree in front: the people, 50 or 60 in number, were seated in a circle, some on mats, and some on the ground; the women and children around the circle behind the men. Some of the people were dressed in gowns, extending from the neck to the feet; some in blankets of the country cloth, wrapped around the body; some, particularly the young, in narrow strips of cloth; while the children were not burdened with any clothes at all.

"Our present of bafta, tobacco, &c. was placed on a mat in the centre of the circle. After the usual ceremonies in opening a palaver, our character, and the object of our visit was made known. Good and great men, in America, had sent us to talk to king Sherbro about the children of those African people, who, in times past, have been carried from Africa to America. Some of them are free to go where they please, and some of them think of returning to the land of their fathers. Some people in our country think of helping them, and have sent us to speak with Sherbro and other kings, to see if lands may be given to these strangers to sit down quietly. The people who come, by cultivating the ground, and by a knowledge of the arts, will increase the necessaries and conveniences of life. We come as messengers of peace and good tidings—no arms in our hands—wish no

war. If the kings consent to our wishes, and the people obtain a quiet settlement here, we think they will establish schools to instruct all the children. They will bring the book of God with them; and when you are able to understand it, we hope it will make you more happy while you live here, and after you die. What word will king Sherbro send back to the people in our country?

"Parts of our instructions were read, with many additional observations, and the whole was carefully interpreted, as we read or spoke.

"Kong Couber, who managed the whole business on their part, replied, All you say is well, very well: but, said he to Mr. K., you say you called on Caulker: why did not Caulker send his present to king Sherbro? David Caulker answered—his uncle was poor, and had nothing in his hand to send when they came away. But, said Couber, Caulker ought to have sent something to his father. These men were sent to king Sherbro—why did they call on Somano and Safah before they came to me? We told him, it was convenient to us to call on them as we came down; and no disrespect was designed to Sherbro, as we were not minutely informed of the rank of the kings, or the customs of the country. How would you like it, said he, when a table was set for yourself, that your child should sit down before you, and you eat afterwards? But why did not Somano and Safah come and speak their minds to Sherbro?

Tasso, Somano's deputy, said, that king Somano sent him to hear what Sherbro would say, that he might know what answer to give to the strangers. All this was unsatisfactory. It was concluded that no answer could be given until Safah and Somano came. Tasso was sent to call them.

"The palaver lasted between three and four hours. Despatch in business is what African kings know nothing of. They will talk around a subject for hours, without coming to the point.

"In the evening, the natives renewed their lamentations for the dead, with dancing, beating on a drum, &c. The music is dull and monotonous. When a king, or head man dies, they make much parade. D. Caulker says, that during the cry for old Caulker, the people came from all the country, and drank twenty puncheons of rum.

"Mr. K. is a second Paul Cuffee. He has a good mind and considerable knowledge. His writings discover him to be a man of sense and worth. He has a good heart, and no one can be more anxious for the temporal and spiritual welfare of Africans and their descendants. He has enlarged views, and believes, with the fullest confidence, that the time has arrived when the descendants of Africans abroad shall begin to return to their own country. His mind relies on the promise of God,—"Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God." He says, if we can fix on a proper place for a colony,

our people may come out by hundreds and thousands, and we need not fear the consequences, only sending some men of education and piety to be their conductors and guides. Africa is the land of black men, and to Africa they must and will come. It is at present a wide and barren wilderness; but it may be made to bud and blossom like the rose. As for land, he says, it belongs to Africans abroad, as well as those now in this country; and if they are disposed to return, land they must and shall have. They have not forfeited a right to the inheritance of their fathers, by being carried by force from their country. The good people in America have only to help them to get back, and assist them a year or two, until they can help themselves. Then if they will not work, the fault is their own. They certainly will not freeze nor starve. Let any class of the people of color come—only give us a few who will be good leaders of the rest. He urges the plan of colonization, among other reasons, on the ground, that it will prevent insurrection among the slaves—remove some bad men, who will not have the same opportunity to do mischief here as there—bring into this country some good men, who will shine as lights in this dark world—give an opportunity to masters who are disposed to release their slaves, and thus promote a gradual emancipation—provide a home for many oppressed free men, and confer infinite blessings on this country. Mr. K. thinks the

greater part of the people of color, who are now in America, will yet return to Africa.

"*Yonie, Sabbath, 5th April*, 1818.

"Called on Kong Couber at his thatched cottage. Mr. K. told him it was our Sabbath, devoted to the service of God in Christian countries, when God's book was read before the people. He answered,—All people should be glad to hear God's book—it was the best book—God's palaver was the old and good palaver. I stated to him the belief of good people in America, respecting the creation of the world, the sinful state of mankind, and the way of salvation by Jesus Christ. I referred him to the blessings which the Christian religion confers on the persons and nations who embrace it, and contrasted the state of the American and African people, noticing even the necessaries and conveniences of life which we enjoyed, and of which they were destitute. I told him our most precious comforts were derived from the love of God, and an obedience to his commands. I spoke of the future judgment, when we must all appear before God, to give an account of the deeds done here in the body, when, as our conduct had been good or bad in the sight of God, we should receive a sentence of approbation or condemnation; that, though the body is laid in the grave, the soul lives, and will hereafter be united with the body, &c. &c.

I urged the importance of worshipping God and not devils; that God, who was the possessor of the world, would be angry with any people who erected altars to devils, and would visit them in judgment; that the devil was only a creature, and had no more power than God gave him. I told him all in Christian countries were not good people: he had seen many from America and England who were bad men. Mr. K. named perhaps a dozen foreigners, with whom Couber had been acquainted, who were slave-traders, and bad men, who did not prosper, but died poor and wretched, often leaving their children cast upon the world friendless and neglected. He said that the afflictions which some of the natives suffered, were the judgments of God for their sins: here the leopard comes, and sometimes drives the people away from a town: a shark or an alligator catches a boy, and you say he was killed by a witch, and go and sell a whole family into slavery. Such things were not known in England or America.

"Kong Couber listened with a serious countenance and fixed attention. I could not but believe that he was impressed with a conviction of the truth of what was said. Mr. K. told Couber that he had been in Sherbro about twenty years, but he never knew two so good men come to it on so good an errand.

"We learn that the young men in this and the adjacent towns are in favor of the contem-

plated colony: they think it will be a good thing for the country, and make them know more. The consent of the kings will probably be obtained for lands.

"Since Mr. K. has been in this country, he has saved five or six persons from death; some condemned for witchcraft, and some for crimes they never committed. Some of these were nearly dead by the excessive quantities of *red water* which they had been compelled to drink. He has sometimes paid 50 or 100 bars to save one from these superstitious murderers. He has also rescued fifteen or twenty persons from foreign slavery, sometimes by interposing his authority, but more commonly by purchase. He speaks of —— ——, a head man of vile character, who is engaged in furnishing slaves for the ships now at Gallinas, about 50 miles down the coast. It is asserted that seven or eight vessels are now lying off that river, waiting for cargoes; one of which unfurls the American flag, armed with twenty guns, and belonging to —— ——, who professes to be an American citizen. It is high time for the American government to guard against the violation of their laws, at least by American citizens, and to interpose their authority to check this barbarous traffic.

"*Yonie, Monday, 6th April*, 1818.

"Safah and Somano have not arrived. Mr. K. has spent a part of the day with the king and

people. He thinks we have a fair prospect of obtaining lands, both for a commercial town or towns, on the coast, and more extended settlements in the interior. We have been afraid to attack the superstitious customs of the people, while our negotiations were pending: but they have always listened to us with attention; and Mr. K. says they are pleased with the idea that our people will build churches for the worship of the true God, and will teach the children to read the words in God's book.

"Mr. K. conducted our evening worship, and prayed earnestly for Africans, their descendants in foreign lands, the Colonization Society, their agents, &c. &c. He does not allow that this plan originated in America, but insists that it had its origin in heaven; and he has much greater confidence than the Managers of the Colonization Society, that their plans, if pursued with prudence and vigor, will be completely successful. He has great influence in Sherbro, owns considerable tracts of land here, and is acknowledged by the natives to be a head man of the country. The districts of country on which we are fixing our thoughts, are recommended by a number of persons as the best for our objects on this part of the coast. They have good water, rapids in the rivers for mills, and a soil suited to rice, coffee, cotton, &c. We can see distinctly, as we lay off Yonie, the high range of mountains to the right of the Ba groo, perhaps twenty-five miles distant.

"We have no intelligence from Safah and Somano. We must wait with patience on these people. Some years ago, a destructive war raged between Caulker and Cleveland, in which most of the Bullom people were enlisted on one side or the other. Sherbro was for Cleveland, Safah and Somano were for Caulker. A cessation of arms was effected by a governor of Sierra Leone; but his early death prevented the consummation of the treaty, and mutual jealousies have existed ever since. They have not seen each other for years. Sherbro wishes to improve this opportunity to bring them together. As the country is common property, one dares not move until he knows the mind of the rest.

"*Yonie, Tuesday, 7th April*, 1818.

"Mr. Martin, D. and R. Caulker, and one of Sherbro's men, were sent on an embassy after Safah and Somano, and forbidden to sleep before they returned.

"We have had much conversation on the organization and government of the proposed colony. The natives need not be feared. They are not numerous, have few arms, timid in disposition, jealous of each other, and broken up into small, independent, elective governments. There is little reason to fear a general combination among them, and their strength would be small if they should combine together. If the Sierra Leone colony should continue favorable, and throw no obstacles in our way, that will

keep the native people in awe. Should our settlement prosper, it will in two or three years be fully competent to defend itself without aid from our country; and previously to that time, a single armed sloop or brig, sent to execute the abolition laws, would give to our settlements perfect security. If the people were troublesome, fire a big gun out in the bay, and they would all fly to the bush, and not an individual be found.

"Somano and Safah arrived to-day; but another circumstance has occurred, which will delay our negotiations: one of Kong Couber's wives died this morning, and the cry for her may prevent his taking a part in the council for some days.

"*Yonie, Wednesday, 8th April,* 1818.

"We learn that some consultations respecting the dead, will put off any palaver to-day. As our presence will not be required here to-day, we propose to sail down to the mouth of Shebar, which may properly be considered an outlet of Sherbro sound, about eight miles from Yonie. We presented to the head man a bottle of wine and a little tobacco. He knew and approved the objects of our visit to this country. He said we were all brethren: some of the head men of the country (including himself) were the children of Europeans or Americans; and it would be strange if they should drive away their brethren of whatever color, especially as they

wanted such things as the country did not produce, or they knew not how to manufacture, which our people would bring them.

"We walked across the point to the beach, against which the surf beats with great violence and a perpetual roar. We could see ten or fifteen miles towards Gallinas. The coast appeared low, covered with vegetation and lined with a beach of white sand. The whole peninsula is sandy, covered with pullom and palm trees, shrubs, &c. We saw fields of cassada. We walked around the point to the mouth of the Shebar. It is one mile wide. The bar is semi-circular, making a circuit of three or four miles. It has an island in the middle: the best channel is on the Sherbro Island side, having three and a half and four fathoms water at full tide. Schooners and brigs have come into the Shebar, but the attempt is hazardous. There are nine fathoms in some places within the bar. We were anxious to cross the bar, to ascertain the soundings, but could not find a pilot. In the rainy season, the south-west winds raise the waves very high.

"*Yonie, Thursday, 9th April,* 1818.

"The kings meet this morning for consultation. An additional present is necessary. Patience may almost have her perfect work on the dispositions and hearts of those which wait on men so slothful in business, and so eager to receive the tribute of strangers.

"I am not certain but Mr. Caulker, of the Bananas, would consent to receive some of our people on his island. It is a very pleasant place, has good water, and high land, and is open to the sea breeze. It produces, or is capable of producing, most of the articles found in tropical climates. It is above eight miles long and three broad, six miles from the main land. There is one strong objection, however, that the Sierra Leone colony lays some general claim to the islands, though Mr. C. does not acknowledge the validity of the claim.

"The kings have been some hours in friendly consultation. They would not have embraced each other at this time, had not our visit and the mediation of Kizell brought them together. They have settled past difficulties, and are consulting on the subject of our application. They engage to see us and express their mind to-morrow.

"We wish to ascertain, first, whether they will promise to the American Society or government, tracts of land, eligible, and sufficiently extensive, where our people of color may settle; and, secondly, on what conditions such tracts of land may be purchased or occupied. Should we succeed in these respects, we shall expect them to engage to favor and support the colony, so far as may be in their power.

"Yesterday, when Mr. B. and Mr. K. were on shore, condoling with Kong Couber on the death of one of his wives, Couber said, referring

to us, 'May the Lord bless you; and as you came to this country with good wishes, may you find good things.' This appears to express confidence in our character, and approbation of our objects.

"*Yonie, Friday, 10th April,* 1818.

"At 10, A. M. we were informed that the kings were ready to receive us in council. We went on shore, and found all assembled under the *cola* tree. Sherbro was seated in his armed chair, with Somano on his right hand, and Safah on his left, holding the insignia of his office, the silver-headed cane and the horse-tail. Couber sat on a mat before Sherbro. Mr. B., Mr. K., and myself, sat facing the kings. After shaking hands with the kings and princes, Mr. K. said, We are come. Couber replied, We see you; we are glad; we love you; we do not hate you; you are our strangers; we love your country; we are friends; we love peace as you do; war is not good, &c. &c. But when you did come from the head men of your country to Sherbro, where is the letter you did bring to Sherbro? We answered, that we had instructions to visit Sherbro, and consult with the kings of the country; but as king Sherbro was not personally known in our country, no letter was addressed to him. He afterwards said, if we had come in our ship directly to Yonie, they could give us an answer; and asked Mr. K. if his father, the Governor of Sierra Leone, did not

send him with us. Mr. K. said the Governor did not, as he was absent at the Gambia; and besides, the people of Sierra Leone were free men to go where they pleased, without asking their father. I replied, that we came to Sierra Leone, strangers to all the people, and finding our friends Kizell, Martin, and Anderson, to be acquainted with the language and kings of the country, we invited them to come with us. Mr. K. said, he had a letter from a friend in England to assist us: besides, if strangers of king Sherbro arrive at Sierra Leone, it was not fit to let them stand alone, but come and introduce them.

"Kong Couber said, the country belongs to all the kings and people: we cannot sell land, unless we see them all. We in reply, urged the necessity of a definite answer, that we might carry their good words to our people; or go to other kings, who would give us a good answer. We inquired whether the head men and people could not be assembled before we went away. Couber answered, it was the busy season of the year, rains were coming on, the people were clearing their plantations, and sowing their rice; the kings were poor, and must work as well as the people; the people could not be called together, unless there was something to set before them, &c. &c. If we had goods to buy lands, and people to sit down, they would call the head men together. After much palaver and a forcible recapitulation of the objects of our visit, we inquired, What answer shall we carry to our

people of color? Will king Sherbro receive his children? Yes: we cannot hate them; we will receive them.

"We proposed that we should have liberty to look about their country, and go to other kings on the coast, if we chose, without giving offence: they assented. They proposed that we should write Sherbro's words in two books; leave one book with them, and take the other to our country. When we came back, or any others, from our head men, they should bring this book and a letter addressed to king Sherbro: we assented. Couber said, our present was carefully preserved, and was at our command. We answered, we freely gave it to king Shebro and the people. He inquired if we should consider it a payment for land? We said, No. These people have so long dealt with rogues, that they cannot, without difficulty, trust honest men.

"*Yonie, Saturday*, 11*th April*, 1818.

"A number of the natives were present at our morning worship, and behaved with great propriety. Afterwards, I stated to them the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, and urged on them the necessity of a Saviour for sinners, and the duty of a holy life. They assented to my words, and said, that they and their brethren believed that good men, when they died, went to God, and bad men to hell. Their convictions are less erroneous than their

practice. The obstacles to the introduction of religious knowledge into this country, appear not to be so great as in many other heathen lands.

"When on shore to-day, we read to Kong Couber the book which we had written according to his suggestion. He said it was right; the kings had agreed to do so, and their word might be relied on. But he said he was alone, and must not say much, lest the kings or people should say he was secretly selling the country without consulting them.

"We repeated some of the advantages which might flow from our settlements—the introduction of the spinning-wheel, the loom, the plough, the machines for cleaning rice, and mills for sawing wood—the establishment of schools, &c.; and endeavored to convince him that we did not want lands for white men, because we have vast uncultivated tracts in our country; but for such of the descendants of Africans as might improve their situation by such a change. I expressed to him a hope that the Africans would hereafter cultivate their lands better, build ships, and go to England and America with their ivory, rice, palm-oil, cotton, and coffee. We gave him an outline of Paul Cuffee's life, whose father was an African.

"Kong Couber offered to send two of his sons to America for an education, in any American ship which might come to Sherbro on this business. It will no doubt have a good effect

on the minds of the people here, if any vessel should visit this country to carry into effect the plan of the Colonization Society, that some of the upright and influential men of color should come out. They could look at the country, and speak for themselves. The natives would see that they were their brethren and friends.

"In attempting to obtain lands of the kings, we have had to encounter only such objections as we anticipated. They have had to deal with the worst class of white men, who have often committed the grossest acts of violence and injustice. In 1806, a slave-trader made some presents to old king Sherbro and the people, and allured the old king and some of the princes on board his ship, off the Shebar. He would not then liberate them, except with much unkind treatment, and in exchange for many slaves.

"They know that we are decidedly opposed to the slave-trade, which some of them would relinquish with reluctance. Their convictions and better judgment are against it. They know that the people of color are very numerous in our country; and it has occurred to them, that so many may come as to give laws to this land. This they fear. They appear not to care that their superstitious customs will be disregarded; but on the contrary, have always expressed an approbation that the great God should be worshipped, and their children should learn to read his book. They do not like to say we may

have any particular tracts of country, through fear of offence to head men who have not been consulted.

"*Yonie, Sabbath, 12th April*, 1818.

"The good hand of our God preserves us in peace and safety. The sun does not smite us by day, nor the moon by night. The heat is oppressive only a few hours in the day. The air is cooled by the sea-breeze. The thermometer is lower than often on a summer day in the United States. The atmosphere is hazy or cloudy much of the time.

"This morning we sung the psalm, "Sweet is the work, my God, my King;" and I made some observations on the fourth commandment, "Remember the Sabbath-day."

"We have thought much of going into the different villages, and, by an interpreter, preaching to the people. But we are unwilling to take any step which might excite their superstitious fears, and lead them to oppose our plans. We came not to establish a solitary church, but to lay the foundation for thousands of churches. We have had conversation with the chief men on the truths of the Christian religion, and have had many of the people at different times to worship with us on board the ship. This has been a quiet day, and much more like a Sabbath than many I have spent in Christian lands.

"We arrived at the mouth of the Boom, at seven in the evening. As it was dark, the wind

fresh, and the bay wide, we stopped at the little village Runta; and the head man, of whom we hired our canoe, hospitably furnished us with his house. The room and bedstead was hung around with curtains of mats, curiously wrought. We slept comfortably. We called at this village as we went up yesterday morning. It is a romantic little spot. Twelve or fifteen houses stand close together; a narrow avenue to the bay gives access to the sea-breeze: palm, orange, cocoa-nut, banana, and plantain trees, overshadow the houses. Sugar-canes, cotton shrubs, and cassada plants, grow on each side the path which leads to a few rice fields just behind; then the whole is closely encircled with forest trees and wild vines of the richest foliage. Were it the abode of innocence, it might be esteemed a garden of Eden. The chief man is gaining wealth, and lives comfortably. He will probably be considered a king in the country in a few years.

"*Sherbro Bay, Wednesday, 15th April*, 1818.

"At day-light, we put our company in motion, and crossed the bay in safety, to our schooner, off Yonie. We went on shore to take leave of Kong Couber. King Sherbro and the second prince, Teng-Bang, were out of town; the one at his salt-works, and the other at his rice plantation. Kong Couber inquired with apparent solicitude when we should return. We told him it was doubtful whether either of

us would ever return—our country was far off. He said, *we* must return; the people knew us, and there was a good understanding between us and the head men. If we came back to-morrow in the manner we proposed, the head men would meet, and the business be settled. We told him it was probable some people from our country would visit Sherbro in one year; and if we were alive in our country, we would send letters and presents, which would convince Kong Couber that we remembered his kindness. He gave us a goat for our men, and two mats for our fathers in America. He walked along the shore with us, and, giving us his hand, said in English, 'May God bless you, and give you a good voyage to your country.' While we gave sail to our little schooner, he sat down by the shore, under an orange tree, apparently pensive and melancholy. This prince is conscious of the depressed condition of his people, and the barbarous state of his country. He sighs for their improvement. He has, in times past, complained to Mr. K., that his father did not send him to England for an education; and has almost wished he had been sold as a slave, into America, like Mr. K., if he could only have acquired learning, and lived to return back to Africa. He has told his people, that if we came back to live there, he should drink wine only, and no more rum, because rum turned the head, and made men fools. I am not certain but Missionaries of prudence, self-denial, and Chris-

tian zeal, might spend their lives usefully here. There would be no want of children to instruct. Couber, and perhaps some other head men, may be confided in. Serious obstacles must be anticipated. Slave-traders have made even savages more vicious. The people are generally idle, superstitious, self-indulgent, and fond of ardent spirits. Polygamy is nearly universal.

"At 11, A. M. we anchored off Bendou, and sent our compliments to Somano. We rested a few minutes under the shade of a large orange tree, loaded with oranges of a full size. A lime tree stood near, whose branches were literally bent down with fruit. Somano, Safah, and their people, were assembled in the Palaver-house. The head woman, or queen, had recently been accused of witchcraft. She had drank the red water, and escaped without injury. This proved her innocence. Within a few days, her people had killed an elephant. This is considered a lucky omen, and a testimony of the favor of the gods. Hence, she brought forward a charge of false accusation for witchcraft, and a demand of reparation. This was the subject of palaver. All the people were sitting around to witness the progress of the debate, and anxious about the result. The men who had distinguished themselves in killing the elephant, with their wives, occupied prominent seats. They were dressed and ornamented with more richness and elegance than any I ever saw in Africa.

"*Deong River, Thursday, 16th April,* 1818.

"At 9, A. M. we crossed the bay about five or six miles to the mouth of the Deong, passing two places near the beach where the people were boiling salt. The shores of the bay, and the islands, are girt around with mangroves. The soil is black mud, liable to be overflowed by the tide, especially in the rainy season. The mouth of the river is, at the least, a mile wide. It enters the bay from the east, and preserves the same general direction about twenty miles, when it flows from the north of east. Like the Boom, the Deong has a series of islands extending up 20 or 25 miles, which divides the river into two channels. We ascended the right branch, which is not so wide and navigable as the left. About 10 miles up, we came to land on the right bank, not liable to be overflowed in the rains. Near this, a small stream comes in from the right, which flows along Soyarrah's territory. Here the water in the river becomes fresh. There is a large ledge of rocks in the middle of the river. We directed our men to paddle towards it, to which they were wholly averse, believing that some evil spirits lived there, who would punish their temerity. We laid our commands upon them, when they yielded with reluctance, and threw water into the air with their hands, as if to appease the wrath of these local demons. The ledge is common freestone, of considerable extent, and a few feet above the surface. Mr. K. said the natives

have a tradition that these rocks have crossed and re-crossed the river, sometimes above and sometimes below the water, to the alarm and astonishment of all the country.

"This country has seen better days. Its population was once much greater. The ravages of war and the slave-trade are no where more visible than in this river. Towns have been burnt, hamlets are deserted. In these relics of villages the people salute us as we pass by, and make many inquiries.

"*Deong River, Friday, 17th April,* 1818.

"Will Comberbuss, a fine old man, on whom we called a few miles back, expressed a different opinion: he said, 'It would be a very good thing for the country, if our people would come and bring *knowledge:* the land would produce rice, cotton, coffee, tobacco, and all good things, but the people did not *know.*'

"We crossed the bay, with a fresh wind against us, occasionally dashing the waves into the canoe, and arrived at our little schooner at 9, P. M., somewhat weary, wet, and hungry.

"*Sherbro Sound, Saturday, 18th April,* 1818.

"We sailed from York island eight or ten miles, and anchored off Campelar, a little village belonging to Mr. Kizell. We saw a brother-in-law, whom Mr. K. rescued from foreign slavery at much expense—a man of native intelligence and a good aspect. We had a tornado to-day:

it is a violent gust of wind, of short duration, usually attended with rain, lightning, and thunder.

"*Sabbath*, 19*th April*, 1818.

"Darkness, gross darkness, covers the nations around us: but this darkness shall be dispelled: the Sun of Righteousness will yet arise upon them, with healing in his beams. In this consideration we do rejoice, and we will rejoice.

"*Tuesday*, 21*st April*, 1818.

"We have been waiting almost with impatience for the king of Fara. We are hoping to finish our inquiries, and leave this part of the coast, late in May, or early in June, before the rains are fully set in. The weather, since our arrival in Africa, has hitherto been quite pleasant, except the heat, occasionally rather oppressive. The tornado this evening was severe: the wind blew hard a half an hour, and some rain fell. We perceive many appearances of distant thunder-storms, especially towards evening.

"*Wednesday*, 22*d April*, 1818.

"Our canoe returned this morning with the king of Fara. His people were rather unwilling to let him leave his town.

"A canoe with twelve persons, from Bendou to the Plantain Islands, stopped along-side. Two women appeared to be the principal per-

sonages. Some of the women have very amiable and intelligent faces. The Africans generally appear cheerful and happy. Some of the canoes will carry forty persons, and sail about this bay at all seasons of the year, with entire safety. Sometimes they spread a mat for a sail. Some use oars, but they generally use paddles. This land was once more populous. It is doubtful whether the population is now increasing, though the proportion of small children is very large. I think I never saw so great a proportion of healthy, active children in any country. Great numbers of the youth and the middle-aged are in foreign lands, while the relics of old age, the head men, and throngs of young children, are left behind.

"Fara pretends to be waiting for his principal men. He is making inquiries of our interpreters respecting our objects. We may well confide in their representations: they are faithful men, and deeply interested in our success.

"Fara mentioned to Mr. K. a surprising phenomenon, of which he desired an explanation. A large tree, by a public path, well known to have lain on the ground some years, has lately risen up, stands firm and erect, and grows green and luxuriant. Mr. K., after some consideration, said he thought he could explain it. He said, 'King Fara, his people, and his country, have long been prostrated and lain in the dust. They are now beginning to rise, and if they encourage these people to come from America, we hope

they will help to give them wisdom and strength.' Fara looked grave at the explanation, and thought it might be so.

"*Thursday*, 23*d April*, 1818.

"We had an interview with Fara, and made a brief statement of our objects and wishes, which he well understood. Rango, the chief speaker, replied in a very appropriate manner:—'We hear you; we like your words: may God bless you, give you health and long life: may he bless Kizell, Martin, and the Caulkers too, because they were good in coming to introduce you. We shall not say much now: Fara, you see, is young, a boy; he will stand behind Sherbro, and will speak the same word as his father. We have not talked with Sherbro—you have; you have seen Caulker, Tucker, Soyarrah, &c. —they have offered you lands:—which do you fancy most? When a man wants a wife, and goes to a father who has many daughters, he tells the father which he likes best,' &c. We told him that we had not seen all parts of the country yet, and were not prepared to make a selection; nor could we let the kings know our choice until we should return from our country. He said, we 'were at liberty to go any where: the country was large: many parts where no people lived were very good land—the banks of the Yaltucker were fertile, and had few people: the Bagroo country was wide and vacant.' He thanked us for our present, and Mr. K. for

bringing us to Sherbro. He said he knew we should write all his words in our books; so we must hear true and write straight, (laying his palaver brush flat and straight on the ground.) They said, "it was a custom of their country, when strangers came, to pour a little wine on the graves of their fathers, and say 'Good strangers have come to us: O bless good strangers,' &c.; and they wanted a little wine to pour at the root of the tree, once fallen, now standing erect." We told them their intimation would not be forgotten; and having taken an affectionate leave of them, we returned on board, and sent them a bottle of wine, rather to bedew their royal lips, than to sprinkle the ashes of their fathers, or irrigate the marvellous tree.

"*Mano River, Friday, 24th April*, 1818.

"We took a canoe to make an excursion up the Mano. This branch of the Bagroo is three and a half and four fathoms deep. It has low banks about two miles, and covered with mangroves, with the exception of one place, one mile up, on the right hand. Here we stopped to lay the plan of a town. The land gradually rises back twenty-five or thirty feet, is sufficiently supplied with stone for building or other purposes, and is covered with fine large timber of various qualities. The Mano mountain, or a ridge of it, terminates abruptly on the left bank just above, which adds much to the rude scenery of the spot. The ground is hard and dry,

covered with six or eight inches of vegetable mould. Six miles above, the hills on the right bank are cleared to a great extent, for rice. The soil did not appear to be deep. On the opposite bank stands the village of Mano. Here is an abundance of stone, convenient for laying the foundation of forges, mills, and water-works of any description. There is an abundance of large, hard timber, above the rapids, and along the banks. Indeed, the country is a forest. There are evident appearances of iron ore in many places. We crossed a fine rivulet of very cool and pure water, descending from the hill, and flowing over a bottom of gravel and sand. We went up the hill to see the rice plantations. The country back appeared to be high land, agreeably undulating, and covered with forest. For health and comfort it appears very inviting, though the soil is not so fertile, nor so easy of tillage, as on the banks, and in the low lands.

"On our return, we stopped at Mano. All the people in this river appeared most friendly and kind. They expressed great satisfaction at our words, and eager to see our people come, if they would be kind, and bring God's book. We said that persons must be sent with our people to establish schools for the children, and to instruct the people. They said they should be glad. One man, whose hair and beard were white with age, said, he wished it could be now: it was much wanted in the country—he wished to hear more about God's book before he died.

It is certainly surprising that there should be such a desire among the people to hear the book of God, and to have their children instructed to read. There is just reason to hope that the principles of our holy religion would be embraced by many in this country, if they were instructed in them.

"It seems desirable to obtain this country to the right of the Mano. It is high and airy. It extends back 80 or 90 miles to the Timmannee country. It is called a good country by those who have travelled over it. A brook is spoken of, which empties into the Mano, one or two miles above the rapids, and extends far into the interior. The whole country, after we leave the little villages on the Mano, has no inhabitants until we reach the Timmannees. Its extent, vacant population, and probable fertility, render it highly eligible. To this might be added the peninsula, between the Bagroo and Mano rivers, which will include the Mano mountain, as the other tract does the Perra mountain. These alone form a vacant region of 3000 square miles, and capable of supporting, with very moderate culture, a population of 20,000. It includes mountains, rivers, forests, rapids, and springs of water. The Bagroo will admit vessels of a good size to the mouth of the Mano; and the Mano, especially at high tide, or in the rainy season, has three and four fathoms water, nearly to the rapids, above the village Mano. Another vacant and fertile tract lies north of the Boom

river. Perhaps this should be preferred to the other. Except where the towns stand, any part of the country may be bought in exchange for goods, nearly on our own terms.

"*Bagroo River, Saturday, 25th April,* 1818.

"We floated up with the tide from the mouth of the Mano to the village Tasso, on the left bank, perhaps ten miles. As we sailed up, we passed two little villages on the left, and the Mano mountain on the right. This mountain has a very interesting appearance, covered with forest, having usually a gradual ascent, and presenting eligible places for buildings, and for small towns, if the soil should prove favorable for agriculture. Just below Tasso, and on the same side, is a trading establishment, called Liverpool, now under the superintendence of a Mr. Jones, one of the first settlers of Sierra Leone. He has lived here with a considerable family of children, and granchildren, for some years. He and his son appear to be sensible, Christian men, and anxious to see their brethren in America return to this country.

"*Sabbath, 26th April,* 1818.

"We lay off Tasso. Somango is the head man. The village has 30 houses. The people are said to be very wicked and superstitious.

"Mr. K. saw Somango towards evening, and stated to him our general objects. He appeared friendly; but he told Mr. K. when strangers

came, they gave him wine or rum. Mr. K. said, that slave-traders gave rum, to make them quarrel and sell each other; this was what they wanted: but the strangers he had brought, came to open their eyes, and not to blind them, and hoped to find and leave them sober, that they might be able to give a true answer, and speak good words.

"*Bagroo River, Monday, 27th April*, 1818.

"Somango has gone to Robanna, to consult with Sologo, and to invite him to Tasso. Sologo is quite aged, and is considered the principal man in this river.

"I took the boat and went up the Bagroo. Mangroves still line the banks. We had conversation with a Mr. Wilson, at Liverpool, who is a man of color, formerly of Boston, or Baltimore. He is a ship-carpenter, and came out from Boston to Sierra Leone about four years ago. He said it was best for the people of color, who are now in America, to come to this country. He said that houses, built in the style of the natives, at 10 or 12 dollars each, 10 feet by 15 or 20, would be best, just in the infancy of the colony. Carpenters, and all mechanics, should come from America. If they could not work the whole day at first, they could work a part of the day, and superintend the business. He said he gave more than 100 dollars, at Sierra Leone, for the frame only of a small wooden house. The carpenters of Sierra Leone charge

a dollar a day: three or four of them would not do more work in a day than one in the United States. He said that one kind of the mangroves, hard, tall, and straight, would make very good house-timber.

"Mr. K. said that if a place were selected for a colony, he could see fifty or an hundred acres of land cleared in a short time, and houses, constructed in the country style, to accommodate the first settlers. The expense of clearing the land might be about six dollars an acre.

"The young Mr. J. said that he had travelled through the Bagroo country to the Timmannees, between two and three days' journey, and could strongly recommend it to us. It was high, supplied with brooks and springs, having sufficient stone for building and other purposes, and richly covered with forest trees, which sufficiently indicated a good soil.—He said the Bagroo was the most extensive district in Sherbro, and was without inhabitants.

"*Wednesday, 29th April*, 1818.

"As Somango does not return, and there is no advantage arising from a delay at Tasso, we conclude to go down the river, and call at Robanna, where Somango is now engaged in consultations with Sologo.

"We have become so far acquainted with the country, as to satisfy ourselves that there is much good land unoccupied by any people, and hat it has good water. The climate we believe

will be deemed as temperate as that of any part of the coast between the Senegal and the equator. We do not see why it may not be a healthy country, as it has mountains and high ridges of land. The Mano has high banks a few miles above its mouth, though the Bagroo banks below this are wholly covered with mangroves. The ridges of land are open to the sea-breeze. Brooks and springs may be found in almost any direction. Mills may be erected on the Mano.

"The natives believe in the existence of a supreme God, who is great and good, but indifferent to the concerns of men. It is their concern to secure the favor and avert the displeasure of certain inferior malignant spirits, whom they imagine to be continually attendant on their persons, and to be the authors of all their evils. They place great confidence in their gregrees or amulets. They have sacred groves, trees, and huts. They occasionally strew fruits about their towns, or spread mats by the public paths, as offerings to the invisible spirits. They sometimes make prayers on the graves of their fathers, or under their sacred trees. Though they may sometimes pay a kind of homage to the supreme God, yet their ideas of him are very indistinct. The true light has never shone upon them. One who was present the other day at our social worship, afterwards said to a friend, 'that he never knew before that white men prayed.'

"These three days Mr. B. has been quite unwell. In the afternoon and evening he has a high fever. It appears to have been brought on by too much fatigue in our excursions up the Deong and Mano rivers, and by too great exposure to the sun. He complains of severe pains in the head, and general disquietude. He has little sound sleep. He certainly needs medical aid and better attention than we can give him on board this little schooner. On his account I am anxious to return directly to Sierra Leone; but he thinks there is as fair a prospect of his recovery here as at the colony. He considers it very important that I should see Sologo and Pa Poosoo, and says a slight flush of the fever ought not to prevent it.

"*Friday*, 1*st May*, 1818.

"Soon after sunrise, we set out in our canoe to go up the Banga as far as Bandasuma, on a visit to Pa Poosoo, the head man. Soon after our arrival at Bandasuma, we had an interview with Pa Poosoo, who expressed great satisfaction with our designs. As some of his men whom he wished to consult were out of town, he sent for them, and waited for their return. It rained very hard late in the afternoon, and was cloudy until night. After sunset, having consulted with his principal men, Pa Poosoo made known to us that he was ready to give us an answer. We assembled at the king's house. A wax candle was burning in the wall. The king's brother

said, (in reference to myself and Mr. B., who was unable to come with us;) 'May God bless you; and as you came in health to this country, may you return in health to your own. We are glad to hear what you say: we like it well. The old people among us wish you had come before. They are now afraid they will die too soon. They want to see the time when the people will come to this country to teach the children to read and write, and to know the true God. The king says I must tell you he likes your object much; and if the other kings call him to say what is in his heart, he shall say, Give the people land. We know you come with a good mind, because Mr. K. brings you, and he is a friend to our country. The old people will die fools; but if these people come from America, the children will turn and know more than their fathers. But they were afraid the people would not come, and it would never be as they said. There was much good land where no people lived.' I inquired what part of the country would be best for the people when they should come to settle? They replied, When a man was looking for a wife, he would not like to have another to select for him. They asked in return, what part of the country pleased us most? I replied, that we wished to see more of it, before we fixed on any part. They afterwards said, if they were to choose the place, they would say, Bring the people to our town. Pa Poosoo is nearly 70 years old, of a pleasant

countenance, and good character. We staid over night. More rain fell.

"*Saturday, 2d May*, 1818.

"We prepared to return early. Pa Poosoo thanked us for our present, and gave us two leopard skins in return. We took an affectionate leave of the kind old man. His town is pleasantly situated on a point of land, formed by the junction of the Banga and Bandasuma, and contains 80 cottages. The ground is very productive, though the soil does not appear to be very rich. It has an abundant growth of trees, shrubs, and vines. The Banga has one considerable branch making off to the left, as we ascended. It has also many outlets, or deep muddy creeks, one of which connects it with the Bagroo, just below the mouth of the Mano.

"Since we left Sierra Leone, we have had land offered us by T. Caulker, on the Camaranca; by J. Tucker, on the Boom; by the king of Cotton, on the Deong; by Fara, on the Bagroo, or the Yaltucker; and by Pa Poosoo, on the Banga. The Bagroo presents one of the best places for the commencement of a colony in this part of Africa. It might soon extend to the right of the Mano, towards the Perra mountains; and then, if desired, it might have liberty to spread back into the interior 50 or 80 miles. The country is unoccupied--has good water—is dry, and agreeably uneven.

"We reached our schooner at 10, A. M., and

made preparations to leave the river. We found that some of our crew had been to the oyster bank, and gathered two boat loads, which were a sufficient quantity to supply 10 or 12 men a week.

"We daily see the smoke of several fires, where the natives are clearing the ground for rice. This has been a common and a pleasing spectacle, while we have been in the country.

"*Banana Islands, Tuesday, 5th May*, 1818.

"Early this morning we called at the Banana islands, and restored to Mr. Caulker his messengers, who have attended us the whole circuit. The young men have behaved well, while they have been with us, and one of them has made some progress in the first rules of arithmetic.

"*Sierra Leone, Thursday, 7th May*, 1818.

"We arrived to-day, and took lodgings with the Rev. Mr. Brown, a worthy Missionary of the Wesleyan Methodist connexion.

"*Sierra Leone, Saturday, 9th May*, 1818.

"I called on Governor Macarthy. He received me in a very friendly manner, and offered us any assistance in his power. He expressed a confidence in the benevolent views of the American Society.

"A Danish ship arrived to-day, having on board a nobleman, who was a late Governor of one of the Danish forts on the Gold coast. He

is now on his return from Denmark to his station.

"We have spent some time with the Rev. Mr. Aylander, a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, whose name is familiar in the United States. He is an intelligent, meek, and devout man. He mourns over the inefficacy of his labors among the natives. Tears stood in his eyes while he described the state of the people, and spoke of the small fruits which he was allowed to witness of the usefulness of his labors. All the Missionaries here are Christian men, and entitled to the confidence and prayers of good people throughout the earth.

"Captain Appleton sailed to-day, to enter upon the duties of his office, as commandant of St. Mary's, in the Gambia.

"*Sierra Leone, Sabbath, 10th May*, 1818.

"There is a great degree of regularity among the people of this place. There does not seem to be any labor on this day, and a large proportion are regular attendants on the worship of God. The untractable Kroo-men will indeed indulge in their wrestlings and other sports on the beach, notwithstanding past attempts to check them. I heard a sermon from the Rev. Mr. Garnon, the colonial chaplain, and another from the Rev. Mr. Brown. There are foundations laid for three houses of worship in Freetown. They will be constructed of stone, large and durable. These edifices and churches,

which have been built and are building, prove the permanence of the colony, and are a pledge of its future prospects.

"*Sierra Leone, Tuesday, 12th May*, 1818.

"I called on the Danish Governor, and showed him Count Schimmelman's letter to us. He esteemed the objects of our embassy humane, important, and adapted to promote the best interests of Africans. He did not conceive that colonies of the American people of color would, in the least, interfere with any existing European establishment; on the contrary, they might aid each other, and combine their efforts to civilize and instruct the African nations. Agriculture and commerce would naturally increase with the number of settlements, which had these objects in view. He had been on the coast five years, and considered the high lands healthy. He had been invited by the Bishop of Copenhagen to translate the Bible into the language of Acra, and he expressed his determination to execute the work, which he had already begun.

"*Sierra Leone, Monday, 18th May*, 1818.

"I have now visited most of the villages in the colony. The population of the colony is nearly twelve thousand. The schools are in a flourishing state, accommodating nearly two thousand children. Each village has a superintendent, who is a clergyman or schoolmaster.

Each village has a place of worship, where prayers are made, morning and evening, in the presence of the people. The Sabbath is observed through the colony.

"The Governor is justly esteemed as a father and patron of the colony. He makes great exertions for its improvement.

"Respecting an American colony, he has at different times expressed the following opinions, which I am the more disposed to write down, as some of them deserve particular consideration :— That a private society can hardly be expected to have adequate funds to found and support a colony without the aid of the government: that, in the first instance, white men of intelligence and good character should occupy some of the principal offices: that the government should be mild and energetic: that forts would be necessary: that one hundred men, with arms, and some knowledge of discipline, could defend themselves from the natives: that the occasional visits of an armed vessel, engaged in detecting slave-traders, would give entire security: that the neutrality of a colony could easily be insured by an application to the European governments: that the first colonists should be men of sober and industrious habits, who will devote themselves to agriculture or to some of the useful mechanic arts: that one year's provisions, or the means of purchasing them, would be necessary to the colonists: that, if expedient, the limits of this colony might be enlarged to ac-

commodate five or ten thousand emigrants from America: that it was particularly proper for the American government to commission an armed ship to visit this coast, to capture slave-trading vessels, as two thirds of them are, or have been, American: that the free people of color would be better situated in Africa, than they are, or can soon expect to be, in America.

"I am every day more convinced of the practicability and expediency of establishing American colonies on this coast.

"*Brig Success, Friday, 22d May,* 1818.

"We have taken an affectionate leave of the clergymen, the civil officers, and the colonists, of Sierra Leone. We are embarked for the United States, by way of England; and the continent of Africa recedes from our view."

THE preceding journal bears intrinsic evidence of unwearied labor and sound judgment in the execution of this important agency. The view which the Colonization Society entertained of the faithfulness of their agents, and the success of their investigations, may be gathered from their annual report, in 1819, in which they say, "The recent Mission to Africa leaves no further room to doubt that a suitable territory on the coast of that continent may be obtained

for the contemplated colony, at a less expense than had been anticipated." It had been well ascertained, that a colony planted on that coast, was an event earnestly desired by the native tribes and chiefs; and there was every pledge of security against hostile operations. This valuable document likewise states with confidence, that "continued assurances have been received by the Board of Managers, in the last year, of the readiness of many of the free people of color in the United States to avail themselves of their contemplated asylum, whenever a suitable territory for its erection shall have been procured. These have proceeded from the most enlightened of this class of persons, comprehending individuals engaged in all the occupations of civil life, dispersed throughout the United States, and in sufficient number to form the basis of a respectable colony. To these assurances have been added the repeated declarations of several proprietors of their readiness to emancipate the whole, or a part of their slaves, whenever a suitable abode in Africa shall have been provided for them, upon condition that they shall repair to it."

The following communication from a Committee of the Colonization Society to Congress, as it presents an outline of the object of the Society, and a grateful testimonial in favor of a man whose life was sacrificed to the interest of Africa, the reader will peruse with interest.

"*To the Hon. Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

"SIR,—In obedience to instructions from the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States, we beg leave to lay before Congress some account of the measures pursued by the Society for accomplishing the great objects of its institution; and the result of their inquiries and researches after such facts and information as might most clearly demonstrate how far any scheme of colonization, dependent for its success upon the interior state of Africa, and upon the actual condition and disposition of her native tribes, might be practicable, and also enable the founders of the intended colony to make the most prudent and judicious selection of a situation for it. In order to obtain the most recent and accurate information, from sources of the most unquestionable authority, the Society sent out, at great expense, two agents, Mr. Mills and Mr. Burgess, who have proved themselves eminently qualified for the undertaking. The agents first visited England, with a view to acquire such preparatory instruction in the most efficacious mode of pursuing the objects of their Mission, as the great mass of rare, valuable, and authentic information collected in that country, from various sources, might afford them. They proceeded from England to the west coast of Africa, where they prosecuted their researches with such zeal, industry, and intelligence, as to have contributed

essentially to the illustration of many important and interesting facts, connected with the geography, climate, soil, and products, of that part of the continent; and with the habits, manners, social institutions, and domestic economy of its inhabitants. From the information thus obtained, the present period would seem to be designated, by a combination of favorable circumstances, as the fortunate crisis for reducing to the test of practical experiment those views and objects of the Society, which have already met so encouraging a notice from Congress; and upon the comprehensive utility and beneficence of which (abstracted from any doubts of their being susceptible of practical execution,) no question seems to be entertained in any quarter.

"The present facilities for acquiring the requisite territory from the native tribes, in situations combining every advantage of salubrious and temperate climate with fertile soil; the pacific and humanized temper of mind prevailing among these tribes; their existing prepossessions in favor of the expected colonists from America; the actual settlement in that part of Africa, of some prosperous, intelligent, and well-disposed emigrants from among the free people of color in this country; and the state of general peace, so favorable to enterprizes of benevolence and utility, wholly unconnected with any political schemes of territorial or commercial aggrandizement;—all together form a conjuncture, which must prove decisive of the success of an

immediate experiment. But upon any permanent continuance of so favorable a state of things, no human wisdom or foresight can calculate, with any reasonable certainty, if the present opportunity be not adequately improved.

"It is now reduced to the single question, whether the undertaking shall be adopted and patronized by the government, so as to become essentially national in its means and its objects; or whether its ultimate success is to depend upon the responsibility and exertions of individuals, whose zeal and perseverance, unsubdued and unabated by difficulty, by delay or disappointment, may be surely counted on; but whose unprotected exertions and unaided resources, whether of power or of capital, must necessarily be contingent and precarious, if not in their ultimate effect, at least in the acceleration of the results.

"It is now conceived to be apparent that, with the adequate aids and sanction from the government, the present generation cannot pass away without permanent, practical, and important benefits from the experiment benefits—which will be felt equally in our social and domestic relations, as in the advancement of the great objects of political and international morality, connected with the suppression of the slave-trade: and this nation has ever stood foremost in the most decided and vigorous efforts to abolish that opprobrious traffic.

"From the journals kept by the agents of

their proceedings and personal observations, with an abstract of collateral information of unquestionable authenticity and great interest, collected by them from sources not frequently accessible to the general reader or inquirer, the Society has become possessed of many rare and valuable materials, not only for forming a more accurate judgment of the utility of the scheme of colonization, but also for demonstrating how flagrantly and notoriously, and with what impunity, the prohibitory laws of the United States, and of other nations, in regard to the slave-trade, are violated, by their respective citizens and subjects. Some important hints also may be derived from these documents, for making the penal sanctions of those laws more effectual: and there is good reason to conclude, that the establishment of such a colony as has been projected by our Society, may prove an important and efficient adjunct to the other preventive checks provided by law.

"The body of accurate and valuable information thus collected, will be found among the documents, which we now beg, Sir, through your kind mediation, to present to Congress.

"We have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Your obedient servants,
E. B. CALDWELL,
WALTER JONES,
F. S. KEY,
} *Committee.*

"*Washington, Jan. 23d,* 1819."

Mr. Burgess, having consigned his companion to a watery grave, returned by the way of England to the United States, where he arrived on the 22d of October, 1818. The practicability of establishing a colony on the coast of Africa, was now put beyond a doubt. The desire of the natives, the co-operating zeal of the patrons of the same general cause in England, and the sympathy which was awakened in behalf of a cause, to which the life of Mills was sacrificed, together with the variety of useful information which the agents had collected, brought the society to a full determination to lay the foundations of their colony, with the least possible delay. For this purpose, great exertions were made in soliciting national and individual aid; in removing the ignorant prejudices of some, and the stubborn opposition of others; in making a suitable selection from those who stood ready to emigrate; and in appointing agents who were disposed and qualified to encounter the difficulties, and manage the interests of a new settlement.

In the month of February, 1820, the first company of emigrants, under the care of the society, sailed for the coast of Africa. This expedition was in many respects unfortunate. The refusal of the natives to fulfil their contract for the sale of lands, and the unhealthy season of the year, drove the colonists from the low grounds of Sherbro to Sierra Leone; and while there, awaiting further instructions from the

United States, they were joined by a reinforcement of new colonists. An unsuccessful attempt was made to purchase, for the projected settlement, Cape Montserado. Thus far, the affairs of the colony wore but a gloomy aspect, and some of its friends were tempted to despair of ultimate success: but there were still found zealous and able supporters of the noble cause, and Providence seemed at length to smile upon their exertions. It was chiefly through the skill and energy of Doct. Ayres, the Society's agent at that time, that a purchase was made, in December, 1821, of a tract of land sufficient to answer the immediate wants of the colony. But a short time elapsed, before the jealousy of the natives had increased to such a degree, that they made two united furious attempts to exterminate the settlement. They were in both assaults repulsed with great loss: the settlers were inspired with confidence in their own strength: the spirit of the assailants was broken, and the natives were so thoroughly impressed with a sense of their own inferiority, that all farther molestation has been effectually prevented. "Since that period the colony has been constantly improving, without any interruption or impediment, other than those necessarily incident to the progress of a new settlement in such a situation." "At no time," says the Annual Report of the Society in 1828, "since the origin of this institution, have the Managers of the American Colonization Society been permitted

to appear before the general meeting with such entire confidence in the ultimate success of their scheme, as at present." The same encouraging document states, that the population of the colony, including emigrants by recent expeditions, exceeds twelve hundred persons, five hundred and thirty three of which had been introduced during the preceding year: three hundred and ninety one of them were transferred at the expense of the Society. The possessions of the colony now extend about one hundred and fifty miles along the coast, and to a considerable distance into the interior.

The moral and religious character of the colony is such as to be highly gratifying to its friends, and exerts a powerful and salutary influence on its social and civil condition. "The sum of fourteen hundred dollars, including three hundred subscribed by the colonial Agent, in the name of the Society, the colonists have engaged to pay, annually, for the support of schools." Several schools have been established, in which the colonists and quite a number of native children receive instruction. The library of the colony contains about twelve hundred volumes. "It deserves record," says Mr. Ashmun, the late colonial Agent, "that religion has been the principal agent employed in laying and confirming the foundations of the settlement. To this sentiment, ruling, restraining, and actuating the minds of a large proportion of the colonists, must be referred the whole

strength of our civil government. Crimes are almost unknown; and the universal respect manifested for the Sabbath and the various institutions and duties of Christianity, have struck the natives with surprise, and excited the admiration of foreigners." The same lamented Agent, at another time, represents the want of an enlightened ministry, as the most urgent of all the actual necessities of the colony. "How it is in other parts of the world," says he, "I know not; but in this colony I have seen the direct and inseparable connexion of the Christian religion—taking in its doctrines, its worship, and its practical fruits—with all that is mentally and morally improving, all that is exalting to human nature; in a word, all that is good and excellent among us."

Four Evangelical Missionary Societies have passed resolutions to send Missionaries to the colony of Liberia; and a noble example has already been set, by the Society of Basle, in Switzerland, in sending forth five Missionaries, whom "the love of Christ has urged to leave their country and friends, and who are ready to spend and be spent for the salvation of their African brethren."

Such is the progress of the American Colonization Society, and such are its prospects which brighten upon the Christian's view: a Society which originated in prayer, which has leagued together in the accomplishment of its purposes the moral might of some of the first men in our

nation, which has been urged on by a sacred and resolute band, which rests its ultimate hope on the arm of God and the resistless influence of his grace. The mind of Mills seized no other project with a more confident grasp. The clouds of doubts and difficulties which at the first clustered around it have begun to disappear, and the precious life-drops of Ashmun have just set another seal to its triumphant accomplishment.

Who can doubt that the true interests of the United States, and especially of the slave-holding community, are most intimately connected with this exalted charity? If there was no other motive than pity for the free people of color; a people who enjoy neither the immunities of freemen, nor suffer the incapacities of slaves, even this would be enough to induce us to say, God speed the noble cause! But when we venture to anticipate the intellectual, civil, and moral elevation of the whole African race; when we think of the long arrears due that ill-fated country from the American people; when we inquire for some security against the continuance of the most accursed of all traffics—a traffic in human blood; when, from the lofty summit of our privileges, we survey the desolations of Africa, and then the prospects of the age, and the rising glories of our Immanuel's kingdom;—do there not exist the most constraining obligations to restore an outcast people—a people

"scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden under foot," to the land of their fathers; and in defiance of its darkness and misery, to render that extensive quarter of the globe the favored seat of science, civilization, and Christianity?

CHAPTER X.

His last Illness and Death.

While in Africa, Mr. Mills was exclusively devoted to the objects of his agency; diligent, unwearied, watchful, persevering "in season and out of season," almost to a fault. How obvious to the eye even of a careless observer, that a Divine superintendence not only raises up and qualifies his agents for their work, and affords them the opportunity of usefulness, and crowns their efforts with success—but that the same invisible and omnipotent energy also limits the sphere of their labor! It is the economy of a wise Providence, if I may so speak, not to accomplish too much by the agency of any one man. "The Lord of Hosts hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory."

Mr. Mills's work was well nigh done. He often appeared much less fitted for earth than heaven. Few men were apparently more matured for "the glory to be revealed" than he. For several of the last weeks of his life particularly, he enjoyed peculiar manifestations of the Divine glory and favor. Though away from his

native shores, burnt by the sun, and drenched with the rains of an inhospitable clime, that Father of Mercies, who is every where present, "put gladness into his heart." After his return from Sherbro to Sierra Leone, and while in waiting for a passage to England, it was his happiness to be the guest of the Rev. Samuel Brown, an English Missionary from the Methodist connexion, a man of an excellent spirit, and who "knew the heart of a stranger." Both Mr. Brown and Mr. Burgess were led to take notice of the spirituality of Mr. Mills during that period, and even to make it the subject of private remark. His frame of mind was unusually devout. At their stated seasons for prayer, these brethren expressed great delight when the duty devolved on him to lead in their devotions, and great satisfaction in his peculiar nearness to God, and his sweet and delightful views of another world. To adopt the sentiment of his colleague, "Notwithstanding my own apprehensions while in Africa, there was something in Mills, while we were at Sierra Leone, which left the impression on my mind that he was ripe for heaven, and would go before me."

Having finished his inquiries in Africa, and become convinced that he could do no more to promote the objects of the American Society, as there was no American ship in the vicinity, he improved the only opportunity for leaving the coast before the rainy season should set in with violence, and took passage for London, in the

brig Success, on the 22d of May, 1818. It was a delightful evening when he took his final leave of Africa. The sun was just going down, and the mountains of Sierra Leone appeared in great majesty and beauty. As he stood on the quarter-deck, taking a last glance at unhappy Ethiopia, his bosom began to heave with the thoughts of home. "We may now," said he to his colleague, "be thankful to God, and congratulate each other that the labors and dangers of our Mission are past. The prospects are fair, that we shall once more return to our dear native land, and see the faces of our beloved parents and friends." To all human appearance it was. The ship was good, her accommodations were pleasant—the sea air was cool, and the latitude toward which they were sailing both agreeable and healthful.—"But my thoughts are not as your thoughts," saith Jehovah, "neither are my ways as your ways." What is too vast in the works of God for the limited understanding of his people to comprehend, they learn to adore; what is too minute for them to discern, they leave to other beings who have clearer perceptions; what is too high for them to see, they look at with admiration; and what is too deep for them to fathom, they pass by without complaint.

The health of Mr. Mills before he left the United States was slender, having a stricture on the lungs, and a dangerous cough. In England he complained much of the humidity of the at-

mosphere, though on the Atlantic, and during his residence in Africa, he enjoyed excellent health. During the early part of the voyage, after he left the coast, (and we have reason to acknowledge it with grateful admiration,) he was employed in transcribing his loose papers, and embodying every thing that was of importance to his agency.

On the evening of June the 5th, two weeks after he sailed from Sierra Leone, he took a heavy cold, became ill, and expressed some apprehensions of a fever. The ordinary antidotes were employed with apparent success. He sat up daily, read his letters, manuscripts and books, and occasionally walked on deck. He confined himself to a light, nutritive diet, and sometimes took a little medicine according to his own prescriptions. An irregular fever, however, lodged about him, disturbing his rest, and sometimes attended with severe pains in his head. It was soon evident that he began to decline.

On Saturday, the 13th, he sat up a part of the day, but was in considerable pain, and very restless.

On Lord's day, the 14th, he had little or no fever, and was very composed and much refreshed. It was a day of high spiritual enjoyment. He conversed freely on religious topics, and could not rest without it. His colleague would repeat devotional parts of the Psalms, and to these he himself would add others with sensible emotion, and indeed elevated rapture. Too

sensibly to those around him, this Sabbath was an earnest of an everlasting rest near at hand. In the afternoon and evening he was in some pain, his thoughts were confused, and a distressing hiccup came on, which filled all his fellow-passengers with alarm.

On Monday, the 15th, he had a restless night: the hiccup was painful, and almost incessant. He had still considerable strength, sat up some, and even walked across the cabin.

On Tuesday morning the hiccup abated—he slept, with short intervals of wakefulness—and, though his strength was gradually declining, he knew those who were around him, and gave correct answers to all their inquiries. About noon he spoke with some freedom, and his sentiments were full of piety and trust in God. Death had no terrors. He seemed to be looking forward to the immediate presence and enjoyment of God in heaven, and to be in constant expectancy of that inheritance which is incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. Between 2 and 3, P. M. his hiccup ceased. There was no convulsion—no deep groan.—He gently closed his hands on his breast, as if to engage in some act of devotion; and, while a celestial smile settled upon his countenance, and every feature expressed the serenity and meekness of his soul, he ceased to breathe.—"Mark the righteous man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."

Thus, on the sixteenth day of June, 1818, in

the thirty sixth year of his age, did this beloved man close his life of distinguished piety and usefulness, and leave Africa and the world to mourn! No monumental marble records his worth—no fragrant dews shall descend upon his tomb. His dust sleeps unseen amid the pearls and coral of the ocean, and long shall his name swell upon the breeze, and be echoed from the wave. As the sun was going down, all on board assembled with great seriousness—a circle of mourners—when, with painful solemnity, and tender supplications to the God of heaven, his body was deposited beneath the mighty waters, there to rest till that Great Day when the sea shall give up her dead.

CHAPTER XI.

His General Character.

From the preceding pages, it will be seen that the general character of Mr. Mills is one of no ordinary elevation. Its real dignity and glory are not easily described. No tinsel glare, no meretricious ornament confounded the purity of its lustre; but always simple, always uniform, it appeared in growing beauty; and, like the rising light, shone more and more unto the perfect day.

In nothing was he more distinguished from other men, and from his brethren in the ministry, than his DEEP AND UNIFORM PIETY. Few possess more disinterested love to God and man than he; or have given higher demonstrations of its influence in forming the human character. He was one of those rare instances of exalted piety, which owe little to the caresses of others, and which shone, not by the light of surrounding orbs, but by the flame of heavenly love. There was in his heart, and in his life, something more easily explained by reference to the

higher exercises of religion, and the influences of the Spirit of God, than by any knowledge of human nature, or observation of ordinary piety. There was a constancy and uniformity of Christian affection, which, to an unusual degree, adorned his character with the "beauty of holiness."

None that knew him will question that he possessed a MOST HEAVENLY MIND. There appeared to be nothing in his heart, and certainly there was nothing in his life, that evinced an attachment to the wealth, or honors, or enjoyments of earth. That "love of gold," which tarnishes the character of so many who profess to have "their treasure in heaven," and which does not leave untarnished the reputation of many an ambassador of the cross, seemed to have no access to his bosom. He lived as though he was "a stranger and pilgrim" on the earth, and had nothing to expect, except from above.

He was eminently A MAN OF PRAYER. He appeared to take great delight in this exercise. On common occasions he said but little; but he conversed with God. In every recurrence of doubt or difficulty, prayer was his resort and his relief. His freedom in this exercise was equalled only by the fervency and disinterestedness of his petitions. There were some observable peculiarities in his devotions, and that not only in those that were public, but those that were merely social, and of a more private kind. He seldom prayed much for himself; but the bur-

den of his desires seems to have been for others. I weep with joy, when I read in one of his last letters to his father, "Long may you live to pray for Zion!" Some of his friends will recollect, with much satisfaction, the prominent place which the person, and mediation, and government, and glory of the Redeemer, were wont to hold, in his addresses to the mercy-seat. In all his devotions also, he imbibed the habit of presenting the object of his present desires, with almost exclusive urgency. That which lay with most weight upon his heart, and predominated in his conversation, was the principal and often the only subject of his entreaties. In a recent communication, the father of Mr. Mills remarks, "One thing noticeable, with regard to my son, is this:—that he wonderfully succeeded in every benevolent plan he devised and became engaged in, so far as my knowledge extends, without being frustrated in any instance. The thought hath turned on my mind, whether this consideration does not afford abundant evidence that he was in the habit of committing all his concerns to Providence, and seeking God's aid and guidance in every measure he pursued." There are plans of benevolence which bear no relation to the closet, and which flow from no other motives than those which might dwell in the bosom of a virtuous heathen. Another day will show how far they fall short of what God requires and approves. What Mr. Mills proposed seemed to be suggested and matured by prayer, and

flowed from the elevated and holy sentiments originating at the throne of grace, and aiming at the glory of God. In the duty of prayer, Mr. Mills greatly abounded. Beside many days of fasting and prayer, unknown to others, unless by accident, he often invited a small society at Andover, of which he was the founder, to set apart a day for that purpose. One of his intimate friends, and a member of this Society, remarks,—"Often have I met him in the fields, or in the woods, absorbed in meditation, or lost and overcome in communion with God. Sometimes when I have called on him in the morning, with a view to some engagements previously contemplated, something in the conversation would awaken in him an insurmountable desire to devote the day to fasting and prayer."

One of the charms of Mr. Mills's character was his UNFEIGNED HUMILITY. His modesty and unobtrusiveness concealed his excellence from vulgar observation. His most intimate companions felt that the world knew him not. He loved what he conceived to be a kindred spirit; and would sometimes unbosom himself in such a manner as to make his auditor blush and be silent. Among the few occasions on which he was ever known to advert to the wonderful results which God had been pleased to bring about through his instrumentality, was an interview with Mr. Burgess, on the afternoon of a Sabbath, while on their voyage from England to Africa. They were alone in the cabin; but

to be more secure from interruption, Mr. Mills invited Mr. Burgess into his state-room. With a mind evidently burdened, and wishing to unbosom itself, he said something of the nature of their embassy to Africa, and of the propriety of their possessing a more perfect knowledge of each others' history, views, and hopes. In the course of the conversation, he was led to speak of the course of Divine Providence toward him, and the operation of divine grace upon his heart. While remarking on the imperfect evidences of his personal piety, and the usual lowness of his spiritual enjoyments, he wept. Supposing his mind to be rather in a state of depression, Mr. Burgess alluded to his life and exertion for the cause of the Redeemer, as affording to his friends a better testimony of the power of religion, than any which he himself could otherwise give. This brought into view what God had done by his instrumentality, and the important part which he had been called to act, in giving existence to some of the great systems of benevolent exertion which bless our land, and do honor to the Christian name. Mr. Mills replied, that from the time he began his education, it had been his uniform desire, and the extent of his ambition, to sit down in some obscure corner of the earth, where he might adore the sovereign grace of God, and instruct a few who were perishing for lack of knowledge, in the knowledge of the only Saviour. He continued to weep much, and said that this retire-

ment was still his desire and hope. His friend remarked that Divine Providence had marked out his path, and qualified him for his work; and if his life should be protracted, he should be grateful for the opportunity of still more extensive services. Here Mr. Mills made some efforts to give utterance to his feelings; but the deep self-abasement, the tears of gratitude, the admiration of God's goodness, with which he spake, were such as never to be forgotten. To adopt his friend's representation, "he appeared to be broken in heart, to annihilate himself, and to be unable ever again to look on the face of man." Such was the impression of this interview upon the mind of his companion, that though he thought he had long been acquainted with the excellence of his friend, he saw that he had been a stranger to it till then; and though he had had great evidence of his humility, he never witnessed such lowliness in any individual before. What a lesson to the great mass of men, to see such a man overwhelmed with abasing views of his own vileness! It is truly affecting to hear Samuel J. Mills say, "I many times fear that I shall yet be dashed in pieces, as a vessel in which the Master has no pleasure."

More than in most other examples, the real dignity and glory of Mr. Mills's character consisted in SIMPLE BENEVOLENCE. He went about doing good. His highest delight appeared to be in doing the will of God. As it was in this that he abounded, and was indefatigable, so it

was in this that he enjoyed the highest satisfaction. It was to him the most pleasant thing in the world to "be about his Father's business." He sought not his own, but the things that are Jesus Christ's. It is but justice to say, that our admiration of his character is not divided between his benevolence, and a multitude of other more splendid, but less useful qualities. After all that affection can say for his memory, his benevolence was that which most distinguished him. In this one quality he stands forward, and commands our admiration and love. When contemplating the main projects of benevolence, in which this eminently useful man was engaged, we are not to forget that he was a preacher of the everlasting gospel,—instant in season and out of season, to inculcate its doctrines, and enforce its obligations in their purity and power. At one time, he was pointing out to some society an important Missionary station; at another, he was procuring some useful sermon or tract to be printed and circulated; at another, he was visiting some hospital or prison, and there distributing the Bible, or dispensing the word of life from his own lips. Every place he visited, every person he saw, furnished him the opportunity of doing or obtaining some good, which he knew how to improve, and seldom failed of improving. His singleness of heart carried him forward, though silently and unheeded by the votaries of fame, yet with a sure and steady progress.

Nor was his benevolence often, if ever, defeated by rashness or imprudence. He possessed no small degree of JUDGMENT AND DISCRIMINATION. The wisdom of the serpent was scarcely less conspicuous in him, than the innocence of the dove. Eagerly as he was bent upon the accomplishment of his work, perhaps he has not been known to go forward at the expense of practical wisdom. He seldom failed to give proof of the superiority of his discretion, in pointing out the means of operation, in enlisting and combining extraneous agency, and in selecting the agency best adapted to his purpose. There was a wonderful adaptation to times, and places, and men, in his topics of conversation. He seemed to know almost intuitively on what subjects any particular individual could give him information, or could be profited by information he had to give. When his object required the co-operation of great men, he wrought upon them through the medium of their own thoughts and impressions rather than his, and gained the conquest without betraying the power. He carried his measures, rather by his prudence, his perseverance, and by the various means he brought to bear on any particular project, and which he kept concealed from the public eye, than by a show of commanding talent, or personal address. Indeed, he himself seemed unconscious of his influence, because the exertion of it was always subordinate to noble ends.

It is hardly necessary to add, that with this

benevolence and practical wisdom, he was not destitute of GREAT ENERGY OF MIND AND ACTION. Whether in intellectual endowments he was superior to the great mass of mankind, some who loved him may have been disposed to question. But if a mind teeming with plans, and those the most extended and judicious; if a life accomplishing a greater amount of good than has fallen to the lot of most of the greatest and the best to accomplish, be evidence of greatness, Mr. Mills was great. Of no man may it with greater truth be said, that the resources of his mind were known only to those who were intimate with his heart; and were, perhaps, fully appreciated by few even of them. They were not developed upon set occasions, or by studied effort; but brought out as the objects for which he lived required them, and were never found unequal to the emergencies of a career so extraordinary and illustrious, and a life so full of labors and events as his. The propriety of his appointment to Africa was, in the first instance, questioned by some who knew him only by a little personal intercourse, and who did not know that under the appearance of something like indifference and inertness, was concealed an activity of mind, a resource in the adoption of means, and an immutability of purpose, which nothing could divert or discourage. I have seen men who could devise for a section of the church, and for a kingdom; but I never saw a man who, from the extent of his information

and the correctness of his judgment, could devise so well, so benevolently for a world. And he knew not only how to devise, but how to execute. He was not only the author of those plans which marked the course of his own exertions, but ever fruitful of the details requisite to their accomplishment, and foremost to perceive and obviate the objections which might be raised against them, as well as in every enterprize, to set an example of steady, laborious zeal. He was not inspired by a bright and glowing genius: he affected no mere accomplishments of manners, or of mind: he made no pretensions to high attainments in science: he possessed no eloquence but that of a benevolent heart, every where breathing through an energetic mind, and consecrated to the most sacred cause.

FIXEDNESS OF PURPOSE was a prominent trait of his character. Given up to God as a Missionary by his mother in his infancy, and by himself at his conversion; and having borne the subject forward through his whole college course, and gathered around him a little company of choice spirits, we soon saw him submitting the cause which he so fondly cherished, and with it himself, to the care and direction of his Reverend Fathers. 'A call to the ministry,' says an able writer, 'consists in a *desire* for the work, and *ability* to perform it.' The same is true of the Missionary cause. Mr. Mills *desired* the work. But, why, it has frequently been

asked, did he not engage in Foreign Missions? Was it because he had no desire for the work? His whole heart was bound up in it. Was it because he feared aught that could oppose him in the enterprize? It was enough for him to know that God required the sacrifice, and the victim was ready at the appointed hour. "His friends," says his sister, "thought he was too hasty in proposing to engage in a Mission, before he had finished his theological studies. Whether he was influenced by their advice, or a consciousness that he was not prepared for the contemplated Mission, or both, I cannot tell. But he gave up his place to his friend, Mr. Hall, who was then a licensed preacher, and in readiness to engage in a Mission." Besides, it was thought all-important for the interest of the cause that he should remain at home, and that the life of the enterprize was connected with his instrumentality. If other men had not come forward for the "first out-fit," no man that knew Samuel J. Mills can doubt but that he would have enlisted, and if necessary would have gone forth like Swartz and Martyn single-handed to the great and glorious warfare.

Another very observable trait in the character of Mr. Mills, was HIS LIBERALITY OF SENTIMENT TOWARD CHRISTIANS OF DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS. He was indeed very far from being an advocate for that latitudinarian liberality and modern catholicism, which makes no distinction between essential and unessential doctrines, and

which yield their confidence to every class of errorists, without discrimination. Few men understood and loved the important doctrines of the gospel better than he, or were more willing to bear their proportion of the contempt and reproach attached to a firm adherence to the truth.

But while he understood and loved the truth, he manifested great candor and forbearance towards those whose prejudices or whose ignorance led them to the adoption of views in some respects different from his own. He took great pains to cultivate harmony among different sects and denominations of Christians, as well as different parties of the same denomination. He had long been convinced that good men attach too much importance to principles in which they differ, and not enough to those in which they agree. He used often to say, that he found pious men in all denominations, and all parties; and enjoyed high satisfaction in holding fellowship with Christians of every name.

The habits of his life were well adapted to the cultivation of these generous and delightful sentiments. In his pity for heathen lands, he could hardly have patience to be obstructed in his progress by the unessential points of difference which agitated churches that had long enjoyed the blessings of the great salvation. Whatever may have been his views of their importance in some departments of Christian duty, he always lost sight of them when they appeared

to come in competition with extended plans for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom. Presbyterians and Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Baptists, all gave him their hearts as a Christian, and have been known to open their pulpits to him as a minister of the gospel. He lived and died as though the salvation of the heathen was an object important enough to unite the thoughts and affections, the prayers and labors of the great family of believers throughout the world; and to the everlasting abjuration of all that party spirit, those narrow prejudices, and those sleepless jealousies, which have so long disturbed the tranquillity of the church. When shall the spirit of mutual animosity and crimination be superseded and eradicated by the irrepressible desire to glorify God, and see him glorified in the conversion of the world! O that the season of chilling alienation had gone by—that "the winter were past, and the rain were over and gone; that the time of the singing of birds were come, and the voice of the turtle were heard in our land!"—But I forget my theme.

Such was Samuel J. Mills. But I must forbear saying more of one, who was ever reluctant to speak or to hear of himself, and seek rather to possess than publish his virtues.

CONCLUSION.

The writer has thus discharged a duty, for which he has felt no small degree of incompetence, but in the performance of which he has received no small degree of comfort and instruction. Who can survey the leading events of such a life, and the prominent excellencies of such a character, without being alternately humbled for his own deficiencies, and animated to more vigorous exertion? A career so illustrious, may well excite every reflecting man to "forget the things that are behind, and press forward to those that are before."

If there is one sentiment which a view of this devoted man's exertions is calculated to impress more deeply than another, it is *the practicability of accomplishing a great amount of good in one short life.* In adverting to the preceding pages, we involuntarily give way to the exclamation, What cannot one man accomplish! Without resources, without vigorous health, without fame, and with only a heart devoted to God, how much may be effected in one short

life!—When we hear an obscure licentiate of the gospel ministry, with modest intrepidity, addressing one of his brethren in language like this, "Though you and I are very little beings, we must not rest satisfied until our influence is felt to the remotest corner of this ruined world;" we may well blush, and be ashamed that we know no more how to make the most of human life.

Men are not apt enough to lay out their plans for extended action. In this respect, how much wiser are the men of the world, in their generation, than the children of light? How magnificent the plans, how unwearied the watchfulness, how persevering the efforts after worldly aggrandizement? How ardent the hopes, how inspirited, how confident the expectation of men in the eager pursuit of the meat that perisheth, and the crown that fadeth away? Ah, what a weight of reproach falls upon the head of that Christian who can quietly see the interests of his Master's kingdom languish for the want of determined exertion? "EXPECT GREAT THINGS—ATTEMPT GREAT THINGS"—should be the sacred and unalterable motto of men in every department of active labor, who have consecrated themselves to Jesus Christ. If a pagan could adopt the maxim, "Nothing is too difficult to be accomplished by mortals;" with what confidence may a Christian say, "I can do all things through Christ strengthening me?"—If he pur-

sues an object replete with responsibility, he also has encouragement peculiar to himself, and resources which the world knows not of. He may have a deep impression of his own weakness and insufficiency; but why should he not have strong confidence in the sufficiency of promised grace? Why should he not let go his own weakness, and take hold of divine strength? Why should he not be "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might?" Nay, why may he not, "glory in his infirmity, that the power of Christ may rest on him?"

Under the influence of the example which this volume presents, who is there that will not be awake to the demands of duty, and begin to enjoy the exalted satisfaction of consecrating his undivided heart and life to a cause greater than his own, and that with pious zeal and intense application? What are a few years of labor and fatigue, a few scenes of suffering and sorrow—what is one short life of self-denying, humble, prayerful, patient exertion, for an object so immeasurably important as the glory of God in the salvation of men? Should one solitary Christian, at the close of these pages, institute the solemn inquiry, *How shall I make the most of human life?* they will not have been written in vain.

In making up his judgment on so momentous an inquiry, no man, at the present age of the world, can satisfy his conscience, without taking

into the account the grand objects to which the subject of this narrative was so successfully devoted. There is a mighty work yet to be accomplished for the redemption of fallen men. Though a few sections of the globe have been delivered from their galling manacles, whole kingdoms are to the present hour in the "bonds of iniquity." "Darkness covereth the earth, and gross darkness the people." According to the most judicious calculations, the population of the earth may be computed at eight hundred millions. Of these there are

In Asia, ...	500,000,000
Africa, ...	90,000,000
Europe, ...	180,000,000
America, ...	30,000,000
Total,	800,000,000

The proportion of those who bear the Christian name, has been judged to be,

In Asia, ...	2,000,000
Africa, ...	3,000,000
Europe, ...	177,000,000
America, ...	18,000,000
In all,	200,000,000

leaving six hundred millions who are destitute of the gospel. Let any man whom "the day-spring from on high hath visited," survey these regions of darkness and death without emotion,

if he can. Eighteen hundred years have passed away since the blood of propitiation was shed for the sins of the world, and three-fourths of the world are at the present hour ignorant of the stupendous sacrifice. The single empire of China contains more immortal beings than there are expectants of a happy immortality on the face of the whole earth.

Who is not covered with confusion, who is not filled with horror, when he contemplates the value of one deathless soul, and ventures to uncover those dark regions, where the "god of this world," whose despotism is so relentless, holds so large a portion of the human family in abject and hopeless bondage? Is it so, that there are now on the earth six hundred millions of men, who are "children of disobedience and wrath"—six hundred millions, who are "crowding the habitations of cruelty"—six hundred millions, with no assurance of an hereafter—without a God—without a Providence—without a Saviour—"without holiness," and "without hope," groping their way through this world, and unmoved only when they can banish all apprehension of the next? "O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears!" One would think there were enough in the contemplation of pagan pollution and wretchedness, to prove an effectual excitement to Missionary exertion. Where is that zeal for the honor of God, that abhorrence of human impiety, that

compassion for the souls of men, which are at all commensurate with the mighty considerations that ought to call them into action? If it is not an idle dream, that all who die in their sins must sink into an eternal hell; why is not the heart of Christendom penetrated with grief and sorrow for pagan lands? Why is there no more love for the poor heathen? Will the churches never awake from this guilty slumber, and commence the work of publishing the gospel to every creature?

If the world we inhabit is not under the obscure dominion of chance, but the direction of a wise and holy Governor, a new era is one day to open upon the earth. Moralists have taught, and poets have sung, that this iron age is to pass away, and notwithstanding this dreadful perspective, that the golden age of light and love is yet to stretch its splendors from pole to pole. From infinitely higher authority too we know, that the Mediatorial Prince is on the throne, and that "He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. The heathen are his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth are for his possession. All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord." Nor is it difficult to see that these predictions are in a train of accomplishment. Long as the event has been delayed, long as the prince of darkness has reigned almost without molestation; the king-

dom of Christ even now begins to extend its authority, and the glories of that kingdom to look toward their consummation. Within these last seven and thirty years, God has been bringing into view, more distinctly than ever, his own omnipotent hand, in governing the world for the sake of the church. Kings begin to be foster-fathers, and queens foster-mothers to the daughter of Zion; and good men and bad are combining their energies for the sacred cause of God's dear Son.

Who then will not come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty? Is it not high time that every man, who ventures to look toward the sacred ministry, should seriously ponder, whether it may not possibly be *his* duty to live and die among the heathen? Go, devoted youth—take your Saviour's last command, and spread it before you; and before you decide on your destination for the present world, set apart one day of fasting and prayer, with a view to ascertain your duty to God and your fellow-men, in this vast concern! Is it not high time for every sober Christian to consider himself as an agent for the kingdom of Christ among the heathen, and under the highest obligation to consecrate himself in a thousand ways to this all-important service? Go, consecrated disciple—employ to the utmost, and on every occasion, every degree of influence you possess, and all the means in your power, to diffuse the Missionary spirit, and

plant Immanuel's standard on every land. Is it not high time for every rational man to say, I lay it down as a maxim of my life, and will hereafter regard it as one of the principles of my conduct, that the world is to be converted to Christ?

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